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# USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### PROBLEM OF ARMS RACE, NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER VIEWED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 86 pp 9-13

[Article by Yuri Alexeyev: "The Arms Race and the New International Economic Order"]

#### [Text]

The reorganisation of world economic relations depends on many factors, the chief of them being the general climate in the world. It is only natural that in the 1970s, which witnessed detente and an extensive search for practical ways of effecting disarmament, the newly-free countries succeeded in ensuring the adoption of some concrete decisions to eliminate their inequality in the world capitalist economy, to promote economic decolonisation and to do away with external barriers to their social progress. These resolutions were recorded in the Declaration and Action Programme on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (the 6th Special Session of the UN General Assembly, May 1974), the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (the 29th Session of the UN General Assembly, December 1974), the resolution on Development and International Economic Cooperation (the 7th Special Session of the UN General Assembly, September 1975) and several subsequent documents.

During detente the emergent states, supported by all peaceloving forces, succeeded in making real progress in implementing some of the fundamental provisions of the new international economic order (NIEO) programme, such as the recognition of every country's sovereignty over its natural resources and the curbing of the exploitation of the working people by foreign capital. Detente promoted the expansion of mutually advantageous links between states with differing social systems, while the mitigation of the military threat made it possible to boost economic aid to the developing countries.

The worsening of the international situation in the late 1970s and the early 1980s through the fault of the most aggressive imperialist circles

showed, by comparison, that stable peace, security, peaceful coexistence and broad cooperation among states with differing social systems are essential if economic relations are to be restructured, while the undermining of detente and the acceleration of the arms race on a global and regional scale reduce the chances of placing world economic ties on a just, democratic basis.

Confronted with growing domestic and foreign political and economic problems, the ruling elite of the imperialist countries, first and foremost the US, hopes to escape them through military expansion, the arms race and political pressure. Cooperation gives way to confrontation and attempts by the emergent states to find satisfactory solutions to the vital problems of world economic development are obstructed. By cobbling up military-political groupings and alliances, setting up bases on foreign soil and pitting the interests of some developing countries against those of others, imperialism maintains tension in some parts of the globe and kindles new conflicts. It gives military and other aid to reactionary regimes and cultivates the use of armed force in all spheres of social relations (including external social relations) in its colonies and dependencies. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) estimates that the military spending of the non-socialist countries exceeded \$600 billion (in current prices) in 1984, with the NATO countries increasing their military expenditures at an unprecedented rate. In that same year the developing countries' share was 15 per cent of that amount, as compared to 6.2 per cent in 1969.

As a result of the coercive methods used by the West in its foreign policy and the frankly obstructionist stand adopted by the US and its allies at all the international forums devoted to NIEO problems in the late 1970s and the 1980s (the 11th Special Session of the UN General Assembly on economic problems, the 5th and 6th Sessions of UNCTAD, the 3rd and 4th UNIDO General Conferences, the UN conference on maritime law, special sessions of the UN General Assembly on disarmament, conferences and meetings within the framework of other UN organisations, GATT, etc.) the main foreign economic demands of the developing countries remained unsatisfied.

As we have seen, the fate of the NIEO depends on the domestic and foreign policies pursued by various governments, the state of their national economies, the extent of their economic interdependence and the correlation of class forces. Any change in these spheres inevitably affects the development of international economic relations. The military-political situation in the world also has its impact on their nature and essence.

Growing tension in the world, the acceleration of the arms race by imperialism and the involvement of developing countries in it, together with worsening of the general crisis of capitalism have practically stopped discussion and implementation of the principles and aims of the NIEO programme. Its fundamental principles - respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, the equality of all states and respect for their legitimate interests, the non-use of force or threat of force - are being violated ever more frequently. Effective resolutions and actions aimed at eliminating exploitation of every kind in international economic relations, at ensuring unimpeded scientific and technical cooperation, at doing away with discrimination in foreign trade and ensuring access to the main financial, material and technical means of economic development have been obstructed and in many cases stopped.

Trampling upon the commonly recognised norms of international conduct, the ruling elite in the US scraps agreements, resorts to political, economic and military pressure, intensifies the neocolonial exploitation of the newly-free countries and seeks to create conditions that will enable foreign capital, (transnational corporations first and foremost) to penetrate their economies. The economic development and foreign economic activity of the emergent states are made difficult and often paralysed. All this adversely affects implementation of concrete provisions in the NIEO programme, complicating the normalisation of trade in raw materials, the expansion of official development aid, the transfer of technologies and cooperation among the developing countries themselves. Let us consider the above aspects of the problem in detail.

Stable prices and supplies were to be maintained, fluctuations in export earnings reduced, the emergent states' revenues from the sale of raw materials were to grow and the export of raw materials, and products made from them, to the markets of the developed capitalist countries was to be expanded with the help of 18 international trade agreements, which are covered by the blanket term "The Integrated Programme for Raw Materials" and which account for 70 per cent of the young countries' raw material exports, and also by establishing a "general fund" to finance stockpiles of the more important commodities.

The present round of the arms race together with the growing utilisation of many types of raw materials for military purposes (and, needless to say, imperialism's growing egoism where the raw-

materials trade is concerned, its policy of assigning this trade special military-political significance) runs counter to the desire to regulate the terms of their extraction, processing and distribution on the world capitalist market. For example, a modern tank consumes 10 times more fuel than its 1960 counterpart did. From 20 to 30 per cent of warplane parts are now made of titanium, as compared to 8 or 10 per cent in the 1950s. Titanium and aluminium are ever more widely used in building warships and submarines. To develop and deploy, say, 200 mobile ICBMs, it is necessary to use 890,000 tons of steel, 10,000 tons of aluminium, 2,500 tons of chromium, 150 tons of titanium, 200 tons of beryllium and 2.4 million tons of cement. On the whole, the non-socialist world uses between 5 and 11 per cent of its output of 10 key minerals to meet military needs today.

A mean annual increment in the consumption of strategic raw materials of 2-5 per cent could, according to experts, exhaust the known deposits, above all in the developing countries, 10 or 15 years earlier than they would be if extracted at the present rate. Another important fact is that the accelerated consumption of the emergent states' mineral resources by the war industry of the capitalist powers, which are strongly dependent on imports of the abovementioned materials,<sup>1</sup> leads to conflicts between these groups of countries over trade in some types of raw materials, as their production cost inevitably grows and prices rise. The exhaustion of these resources as well as the developing countries' natural desire, under the circumstances, to strengthen their national sovereignty over their natural resources also lead to conflicts.

Seeking to maintain the old terms of access to raw materials and low prices of them, the West impedes the conclusion of the majority of the contemplated trade agreements in every way and tries to bring to naught the activities of the "common fund". Its assets have been reduced from the \$6,000 million initially requested by the emergent states to \$750 million, while the developing countries had a system of voting imposed on them which makes a two-thirds or three-fourths majority necessary whenever the "common fund"

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<sup>1</sup> The US imports 40 to 100 per cent of 16 of the 25 main minerals it consumes. West European countries depend completely on imports for their supplies of chromium, magnesium, nickel, titanium, fluorspar, cadmium, germanium, lithium, molybdenum, niobium, phosphates, platinum group metals, selenium and tantalum. In addition imports account for 50-58 per cent of the zinc, lead, aluminium, sulphur, asbestos, iron ore, tungsten, copper and tin they use.



is to decide important issues. As a result, measures that run counter to Western interests can hardly ever be taken, if at all. In any case the US and its allies refuse to sign an agreement on the "common fund" even in such a weakened form.

The imperialist states' approach to economic problems from a position of strength and their unwillingness to place their foreign economic ties with the developing countries on a just basis have resulted in a situation, whereby some principles and demands that had been recognised after protracted struggle on the part of the young countries, were neglected during multilateral trade negotiations. In particular, negotiations on a common system of preferences, which might have brought the newly-free countries a profit of several thousand million dollars proved fruitless.

One serious consequence of the arms race directly affecting the NIEO programme was the curtailment by the West of trade in "strategic goods" (which include many commodities needed by the civilian economy too), and also the Western policy of sanctions, boycotts, embargoes and economic blockades against some developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Sometimes such actions escalate into terrorism, as is exemplified by the laying of mines in the territorial waters and harbours of Nicaragua.

The importance of the military aspect of aid to newly-free countries is growing. The arms race of the 1980s has substantially shifted the priorities of certain capitalist powers vis-à-vis economic aid: the problems of eradicating the backwardness of the developing world have been pushed into the background by military-political and military-strategic considerations. As a result of the preparations being made for war there has been a relative reduction in the foreign aid coming from the West for development purposes (while it is the West that is directly responsible for the present-day inequality of newly-free countries in the world capitalist economy and for their economic backwardness). This aid, made available by 24 of the most industrialised states which are members of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), dropped from 0.49 per cent of their aggregate GNP in 1965 to 0.37 per cent in 1983. US aid fell from 0.58 to 0.24 per cent of its GNP while Britain's aid dropped from 0.47 to 0.36 per cent. The 1980s have seen virtually no growth in the absolute volume of Western foreign aid either: its annual average growth has amounted to a mere 0.1 per cent (in 1980 prices) despite the fact that the NIEO programme and the UN International Development Strategy for the Current Decade have set a target of 0.7 per cent of each nation's GNP.

At the same time, the economic aid the imperialist powers grant on a bilateral basis is being linked more and more closely to military aid. US aid to Morocco, Kenya, Somalia, Oman and the Philippines has been made directly dependent on the construction or lease of military bases for possible use by the US "rapid deployment force". Under Sadat, Egypt received substantial economic shots in the arm after it abandoned the united Arab front in the struggle against Israeli aggression and gave the US permission to use its territory for military purposes, i. e., for a series of Bright Star and Blue Star manoeuvres. Pakistan got a "package" of military loans and economic aid worth more than \$3,000 million to help finance counterrevolutionary operations against Afghanistan. The list could be continued.

The developing countries which provide limited opportunities for Western capital investment, have no sea harbours and have other strategic disadvantages, are rarely considered by the West as being of a major military-political importance. Shifts of emphasis in aid motivated by the arms race lead to the involvement of recipient countries in global confrontation, which further increases world instability, detracts from the "economic security" of developing regions and dims the prospects for the establishment of a new international economic order.

The rapid growth of military spending by the imperialist powers, first and foremost the US, has aggravated the confusion in the monetary and financial system of capitalism. Inflation, high interest rates and the depreciation of currency reserves are putting a heavy burden on developing economies and complicating the restructuring of the monetary and financial system. Growing tension, particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America, is being used by Western banks and international financial organisations controlled by the imperialist centres, such as the World Bank and the IMF, to toughen the terms under which loans are granted, tough as they are.

The indebtedness of the developing countries in the case of long-term loans alone grew from \$173,000 million in 1975 to \$592,000 million in 1983. According to some estimates, about 15-20 per cent of that figure goes directly to pay for Western arms, while the need for armaments is in one way or another played up by the exporters themselves. At the same time the average crediting term was reduced from 16 to 14 years and privileged debt delay was reduced from 6 to 4 years, while the average interest rate grew from 7 to 11 per cent. The debt servicing rate (payments in relation to export revenue) has reached a value which clearly indicates the subversion of the debtors' solvency: 36 per cent for Nigeria,

Côte d'Ivoire and Morocco; 20-22 per cent for Egypt, Kenya and Uganda; 24 and 36 per cent for Argentina and Peru, respectively. Foreign debt, once a means of paying off the shortage of internal accumulation in developing countries, has become an instrument of their neocolonialist enslavement.

The emergent states are facing serious difficulties in acquiring foreign technology. Technology transfers are almost entirely monopolised by a handful of developed capitalist countries; importer countries have little opportunity to defend their interests; besides, there is no legal basis on which relations in this field can be regulated. Meanwhile, the emergence of developing countries onto the world capitalist market in military technology, prompted by the logic of the arms race, including on a regional, group or bilateral basis, is putting them at an even greater disadvantage in the system of world economic relations, because those countries become dependent not only on infusions of military technology but also on a host of services provided by Western monopolies in the areas of maintenance, repair and utilisation, to say nothing of the problem of replacing military hardware.

The expansion of economic and technological cooperation among the developing countries themselves has always been a prominent feature in the new international economic order. Its importance has further grown due to the worsening of economic relations in the world capitalist system. However, the adverse effects of the present stage of the arms race are making themselves felt in this field, too. The escalation of war preparations by one country is virtually bound to provoke its neighbours into taking counter measures as they see such a buildup as a challenge to their prestige. In this way an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust is created and additional seats of conflicts appear, blocking many promising cooperation projects among developing countries, such as the creation of new regional and subregional economic organisations or the invigoration of the existing ones, the establishment of associations of raw material exporters or of financial and research centres, and the expansion of bilateral trade. In addition, the cohesion and solidarity of the emergent countries in the struggle against oppression and exploitation by foreign capital are being eroded and all the hopes they had pinned on cooperation along the lines of "collective self-reliance" are jeopardized.

\* \* \*

It is therefore perfectly clear that the revival of detente as the main trend of international relations is essential for the emergent nations to be

together in finding ways of accelerating their socio-economic progress. The restructuring of international economic relations can succeed (provided all the other conditions are met) only if an end is put to the arms race and to the attempts to revive the cold war. "When vast resources are no longer used for military purposes it would be possible to use the fruits of labour exclusively for constructive purposes", the new edition of the CPSU Programme points out. "States that have embarked on the road of independent development would be protected from external encroachments, and this would facilitate their advance along the path of national revival. Favourable opportunities would arise also for solving the global problems facing mankind by the collective efforts of all the states." The relaxation of international tension would make it possible to come to grips in practice with the question of increased international and legal recognition of the basic demands of the NIEO programme, such as the right of every state freely to choose its path of development, that inequality in international economic relations as well as every form of blackmail and intervention in the internal affairs of newly-free countries be abolished, and that greater economic aid be made available to them. The organisation of full-scale international cooperation would help restructure the mechanism of world trade and resolve other above-mentioned problems.

But vigorous efforts must be made to remove the threat of war and to contain the arms race. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are also contributing to these efforts which are bound to grow as these peoples realise more and more clearly that peace is essential to the establishment of a new international economic order and to the acceleration of socio-economic progress, while the use of military force for purposes of diktat and pressure is fraught with universal catastrophe.

The socialist countries are willing to cooperate with all those who wish to strengthen world peace and security and improve the system of international economic relations. This was forcefully stated anew by Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who, during his visit to France and his meeting with US President Reagan, put forward Soviet major, bold and realistic proposals aimed at curbing the race of nuclear and all other weapons and at expanding fruitful international cooperation. ■

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### HISTORY OF AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION RECALLED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 86 pp 18-19

[Article by Samandar Kalandarov, executive secretary of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee: "Contributing Actively to the Movement of Anti-Imperialist Solidarity"]

#### [Text]

The political report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party congress, speeches made by its delegates and the resolutions of the Soviet Communists' forum reiterated anew that the USSR was invariably in solidarity with the Asian, African and Latin American states defending their freedom and independence in the struggle against imperialism.

Attaching tremendous importance to stronger ties between the revolutionary mass of the people of the Orient and the international proletariat and their stable alliance with Soviet Russia, Lenin wrote: "It is unquestionable that the proletariat of the advanced countries can and should give help to the working masses of the backward countries, and that the backward countries can emerge from their present stage of development when the victorious proletariat of the Soviet Republics extends a helping hand to these masses and is in a position to give them support."

Our loyalty to this Leninist principle has been proven in deed. Born of the Great October Revolution, the brotherhood of peoples in our land in many respects serves as an example for one of the most influential political forces of our day—the Afro-Asian solidarity movement. Friendship and cooperation with the nations of the developing world are an important element of not only Soviet foreign policy but the very world outlook of the Soviet citizens who take an active part in the work of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee which was formed 30 years ago, in May 1956.

At that time the newly-free Asian countries were making the first steps along the road of independent development, while Africa was still at the threshold of sweeping decolonisation. It was the time of a powerful upswing of the national liberation struggle, mass actions against the imperialist policy of oppression and wars, tempestuously growing political activity of Asian, African and Latin American nations and closer interaction among all the progressive and peace-loving forces. Alongside other major international democratic movements, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO) was founded in 1957, with the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee occupying a worthy place among its ranks.

Way back at their first conference held in Dushambe in 1960, the Soviet members of the Afro-Asian solidarity movement determined the Committee's organisational structure and

I V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol 31, p 244.

programme and formulated their goals in the following way: propaganda of the peaceloving foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, work to consolidate the anti-imperialist forces on the two continents and to expand contacts with the progressive public in Asian and African countries and all-out practical and moral support for their peoples.

We are gratified to state today that we had made our modest contribution to the fact that already by the early 1970s the colonial system of imperialism in its "classical" forms had on the whole been eliminated. "The liberation of the former colonies and semi-colonies," Mikhail Gorbachev said at the 27th CPSU Congress, "was a strong political and ideological blow suffered by the capitalist system."

The Communist party and the Soviet government highly appreciated the efforts of the Committee, awarding it the Order of Friendship of Peoples "for fruitful activity in the international movement of Afro-Asian solidarity" in 1976.

The fifth Soviet conference of solidarity with Asian and African peoples held in Tbilisi in 1984 adopted far-reaching plans for the Committee's further work. Among its key tasks is the active participation in implementing the Soviet initiatives to preclude nuclear war and to strengthen peace and international security and support to the struggle waged by the Asian, African and Latin American nations for their greater independence and social progress.

The Committee has established links with national liberation movements, revolutionary-democratic parties and kindred committees in nearly 100 countries, including with solidarity organisations, progressive movements and groups in Western Europe, the USA and Canada and also regular contacts with more than 20 international organisations, among them the OAU, specialised US agencies and the Arab League. Daily cooperation with partners is exercised in the form of exchanging delegations, bilateral and multilateral meetings and discussions, providing foreign organisations with information material, periodical publications and literature, giving them material support in case of need and aid in training specialists, for which purpose the Committee grants young representatives of African and Asian countries and national liberation movements scholarships to study at Soviet higher educational establishments.

The 6th AAPSO Congress held in Algeria in May 1984 became an important event in the world anti-imperialist solidarity movement. Representatives of the public from more than 60 countries resolutely denounced the militaristic policy pursued by the imperialists in the West, especially in the US, who seek to weaken the positions of world socialism, to block or even reverse the progressive development of the Asian, African and Latin American countries and to drive a wedge between the socialist community and the national liberation movement.

Washington of late has been encroaching ever more openly on the inalienable right of the peoples to strengthen their independence and to choose a road of social development on their own. The US Administration pursues this policy of pressure and interference in the internal affairs of other countries in keeping with the so-called concept of neoglobalism which amounts to US claims to subordination of next to the whole of the world to its imperial interests. Similar schemes are being increasingly rebuffed by emergent states and all the democratic and anti-war forces of the globe.

Struggle against the threat of war, now the dominant aspect of the diverse activities of the AAPSO, is discussed at conferences and meetings, symposia and seminars involving envoys of the Soviet public. These acts have their role to play in strengthening contacts and interaction between the movement of Afro-Asian solidarity and the anti-war movement in the West. This year, which has been proclaimed by the UN International Peace Year, the AAPSO is stepping up its efforts to mobilise Asian and African nations to frustrate imperialism's sinister plans and is holding a preparatory meeting for the World Congress of Peace Forces which is to take place in Copenhagen next October.

The Soviet solidarity committee actively joined the implementation of the action programme adopted by the Algerian forum and, with due account for the obtaining situation, comes out in defence of the newly-free countries' sovereignty and independence, consistently supports the national liberation movements and firmly upholds the cohesion and unity of action of the anti-imperialist and anti-militaristic forces. The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee tries to be most effective in explaining to the Afro-Asian public the programme of the stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons expounded by Mikhail Gorbachev in his Statement of January 15, 1986, and in promoting in every way the AAPSO efforts to mount an anti-missile and anti-nuclear movement in Asia and Africa and to give the public of the two continents a clear understanding of the tragic consequences that a nuclear catastrophe might bring to world civilisation. The numerous delegations of the Soviet Solidarity Committee visiting Asian and African countries draw the attention of their hosts to these issues.

Struggle for disarmament has a special meaning for the emergent states: after all reduced military spending would create favourable conditions for their accelerated progress and for raising the living standards of their peoples. Mikhail Gorbachev's Statement says that the stopping of the arms race would give opportunities for the solution of the problems, such as economic backwardness, starvation and diseases. "The principle of armament instead of development imposed by militarism," the document stresses, "should be replaced by the reversed order of things—disarmament for development."

The Soviet Solidarity Committee supports the AAPSO tendency towards paying more attention to the problems of the emergent countries' socio-economic development in the context of their struggle for disarmament, detente and peace. These problems feature prominently in the AAPSO plans for the future. For example, it is planned to hold the Pan-African conference "For Peace and Development" in Brazzaville, Congo's capital, in June 1986.

Mikhail Gorbachev stressed in his Statement of January 15, among other things, that for the peoples of the Asian continent "the problems of peace and security are no less acute than for the European nations". The Washington strategists seek to enmesh Asia in the network of military bases and staging posts, wage undeclared war against Afghanistan, back the Pol Pot gangs operating at the Kampuchean border and whip up tensions in relations between India and Pakistan, with the latter getting latest offensive weapons from them.

Feeling solidarity with the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the Soviet public uses the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and other organisations to play an important role in the campaign to denounce the criminal activity of the US, which through its counterrevolutionary stooges in fact carries out murderous aggression against a sovereign state. The international conference for a new information order held on AAPSO initiative in Kabul in April 1986 enabled the mass media representatives of dozens of countries to get first-hand truthful information about new Afghanistan and became a powerful demonstration of solidarity with its courageous people.

The Soviet Solidarity Committee renders considerable aid to the Kampuchean people who have put an end to the genocide regime and are now following the road of national renaissance.

In close cooperation with the AAPSO Permanent Secretariat the Soviet Committee persistently propagandises the Soviet peace initiatives and the constructive proposals made by Mongolia, Vietnam, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Afghanistan on the measures to strengthen security in Asia and the Pacific. The international conference on "The Forty Years of the Victory Over Japanese Militarism and the Tasks of the Peace Movement in the Asian and the Pacific Countries" held by the Soviet Solidarity Committee jointly with the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies and the Soviet

Peace Committee in September 1985 promoted the coordination of actions by the Soviet and foreign, first and foremost Asian, public. The participants in the meeting voiced profound concern over the US militaristic preparations in different regions of the continent and in the two oceans. The Soviet Solidarity Committee welcomed the AAPSO intention to continue bilateral and multilateral consultations with the aim of using effectively the opportunities available to the continent's socio-political forces to organise a constructive dialogue in order to find realistic solutions to the burning problems of Asia.

The Afro-Asian solidarity movement, which has gained broad international recognition, with its entire activity demonstrates concern for the destinies of peace and also its readiness to make its own contribution to the implementation of the idea of a comprehensive system of international security.

The Soviet public continues to be especially alarmed by the unsettled Middle East conflict. The US and the Zionist rulers of Israel trample underfoot the legitimate right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and the establishment of a state of their own. Encouraged by Washington, Israel perpetrates acts of brigandry and violence on the occupied Arab territories and Lebanon. Under the circumstances the Soviet Solidarity Committee comes out again and again in defence of the victims of aggression, exposes and denounces the policy of imperialism in the region and promotes the actions which raise the authority of the progressive Arab national patriotic forces and which consolidate the anti-imperialist front of the Arab countries.

Together with the Soviet Peace Fund and other public organisations, the Soviet Solidarity Committee sent big shipments of medicines, clothes and foodstuffs to the Palestinian and Lebanese victims of Israeli aggression. The Soviet Union accepted for treatment and recuperation the wounded and also orphaned children. Representatives of the Soviet public—the solidarity committee activists, work on the International Commission of Inquiry into Israeli Crimes Against the Lebanese and Palestinian Peoples.

Another important trend in the Committee's work is aid to the national liberation movements in Southern Africa. It will not be an exaggeration to say that not a single international conference or mass campaign in support of the struggle against apartheid and racism remained unnoticed by the Soviet Solidarity Committee, which has developed in the course of many years relations of close cooperation with the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO, Namibia). Every year in late May Moscow holds major public undertakings to mark Africa Liberation Day and the Week of Solidarity with the Struggle Waged by the People of South Africa.

Powerful actions by the oppressed are now shattering the foundations of the apartheid regime, which relies on the support by the US and some other NATO countries. Special impact under the circumstances had the appeal made by the AAPSO at the Extraordinary International Conference in Support of the People of South Africa (Addis Ababa, October 1985) to strengthen further world solidarity with the patriotic national liberation movements of the ANC and SWAPO. Loyal to the spirit of that appeal, the Soviet Solidarity Committee advocates coordinated international and national political actions. The Committee confirms by its practical efforts the Soviet public's warm sympathy with the people of South Africa.

By supporting unfiringly the struggle against oppression, exploitation and military threat and showing concern for the interest of the common people, the Soviet Solidarity Committee has won respect among the progressive forces throughout the world and recognition among the Asian and African nations working to ensure their genuine political and economic liberation from imperialism.

The Committee relies in its practical work on the broad ranks of its activists—public figures, scientists, workers in culture and journalists—and coordinates it with the efforts of the Soviet Peace Council, the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies,



the All-Union Central Trade Union Council, the Soviet Women's Committee and other public organisations. The republican committees of Afro-Asian solidarity do a great deal to disseminate abroad the experience of building socialism in Central Asia and the Transcaucasia.

The complicated and tense international situation forces all the democratic movements, including the AAPSO, to draw ever new mass of the people into the struggle against the militarists and aggressors and to strengthen the unity of actions of all the anti-imperialist forces. It is in this that the Soviet Solidarity Committee sees its major task at the moment.

The Soviet members of the Afro-Asian solidarity movement will redouble their efforts to acquaint the peoples with the historic decisions of the 27th CPSU congress and with the truth of the Leninist peace policy pursued by the Soviet state so as to save mankind from the nuclear catastrophe and to ensure the triumph of the cause of national liberation and social progress. ■

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### CONTRADICTIONS IN JAPAN'S DOMESTIC, FOREIGN POLICY EXAMINED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 86 pp 55-60

[Article by Stanislav Modenov, cand. sc. (Hist.): "In the Clutches of Contradictions"]

#### [Text]

The situation in Japan today looks like a variegated mosaic of contradictions, reflecting the depth and complexity of that country's problems, some of which have emerged of late while others have been inherited from the past, although they are no less acute now than they were when they first arose.

Japan's ruling circles are particularly concerned about the country's economic situation, although there are no visible grounds for alarm. In 1984 Japan's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) increased by 5.5 per cent, and, according to the foreign press, industrial output at Japanese enterprises rose by 11.2 per cent. The Japanese Iron and Steel Federation reported that in 1984 the smelting of non-refined steel in the country grew by 8.6 per cent and reached 105.58 million metric tons, thereby outstripping the 100 million ton level for the first time in three years. In 1983 Japan produced a record number of cars (11,464,920) and thus retained its world leader in that industry. The production of video recorders increased by 29.4 per cent between 1983 and 1984.

These figures, however, do

not give rise to great optimism in the Japanese business community which is increasingly of the opinion that Japan has failed to create favourable conditions for the steady development of its economy. The invigoration of industrial production, experts believe, is short-lived, and the dark clouds of a new crisis are approaching. This is seen, for example, in decreasing rates of industrial output at the beginning of 1985.

Without a doubt it was the Japanese workers that paid for the increase in production. The soaring prices have affected them severely, as have concrete results of the merciless course the government took towards further reducing social spending. According to official, clearly conservative estimates, over 1.5 million people were unemployed at the beginning of 1985. However, their numbers are growing with time. At present massive layoffs are being carried out in the iron and steel industry, as well as in ship-building, textiles and transportation. Taxes are a heavy burden on millions of working families, but the government has no intention of reducing them. Moreover, in 1985 they continued to grow.

Japanese leaders are gravely concerned by the sharp exacerbation of trade and economic conflicts with the US and EEC countries. They are also worried about the discontent the ASEAN countries have expressed over Japan's selfish trade and economic policies. There has been a new and strong wave of criticism levelled at Japanese trade policies in Washington and the capitals of the biggest Western European countries. Tokyo has long sought to increase the export of Japanese commodities, while, at the same time, protecting its domestic market from the inflow of foreign goods by putting up high protectionist barriers. This had resulted in growing trade deficits for the US and the EEC countries.

The facts show that relations between Japan and the US are entering a new stage marked by rather acute forms of imperialist infighting. At the same time, it is evident that the rapprochement between the two states and the coordination of their policies in all spheres continues. All this is occurring against the backdrop of Washington's much more aggressive foreign policy.

High-ranking US and Japanese officials take every opportunity to stress the two countries' "special partnership" and their common goals in foreign policy and the military sphere. In bringing its policies in line with those of the United States, Japan's ruling quarters are seeking to reduce the conflict over trade and economic policy by making concessions to Washington in the political and military spheres. Moreover, they believe that this may prove to be the most effective way of protecting the class interests of the Japanese financial oligarchy which is firmly opposed to the policy of neutrality and regards the might of their country as an integral part of the entire imperialist system in the confrontation with the world of socialism.

At present the domestic political climate in Japan is marked by the mounting confrontation between the ruling quarters, on the one hand, and progressive forces and the democratic public, on the other, over the government's military policies. The Liberal Democratic Party, which is in power, intends to amend the peaceful provisions of the constitution and implement administrative and financial reforms which would limit the functions of local governmental bodies and intensify reactionary trends in the school system. The struggle over these issues takes place both inside and outside the parliament.

The government's policy comes under sharp criticism at mass rallies and demonstrations, in articles in the democratic press and even in influential bourgeois periodicals. The polling conducted by *Asahi* at the end of March 1985 was highly indicative, as far as the attitude of the broad popular masses to the military policies of the present government is concerned. About 60 per cent of those polled stated that they were alarmed by the "defense policy" of the Nakasone government which has not begrudged the country's resources in its effort to build up the military potential [during the past five years alone Japan's military spending increased by one-third.—S. M.] while seeking a sharp increase in direct and indirect taxes. Those polled said they were also alarmed by the government's refusal to give its support to the three non-nuclear principles, as well as by its efforts to bring its policies even closer in line with Washington's aggressive policies. This and many other polls demonstrate that there is a growing awareness among different strata of the Japanese public that it is imperative to change the priorities of the conservative government. The majority of the Japanese be-

lieve that efforts aimed at ensuring Japan's real contribution to the improvement of the situation in Asia and the rest of the world can enhance the country's prestige, while military preparations and obediently following Washington's lead in whipping up tension and intensifying the confrontation with the Soviet Union will not.

Meanwhile, Tokyo was among the first to approve the deployment of US medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, supported Washington's schemes to transfer the arms race to outer space, and declared its readiness to cooperate in their implementation. Commenting on the stand taken by the Japanese government with regards to the Star Wars programme, *Asahi* noted that of late Premier Nakasone had been moving away from a simple "understanding" and closer to overt support of the US position. In its editorial *Asahi* wrote: "We are concerned by the Premier's demonstrated readiness to support the Star Wars programme in concrete ways, such as by granting Japanese knowhow to the US." In this instance *Asahi* was referring to the US administration's desire to gain access to Japanese research and development in optical electronics and the transmission of large volumes of information in the millimetre range, which will lay the foundations for the "nervous system" of the future network of US military orbital hardware. The Japanese press assumes that Tokyo would hardly turn down Washington's request that Japan shoulder part of the financial burden connected with the production of expensive space weapons.

The countries of Asia and the Pacific are increasingly concerned by the invigoration of Japan's activities. Together with Washington, Tokyo intends to set up a new political structure in the Pacific that will meet US

strategic "needs" and Japanese commercial ambitions. According to the plans put together by the ruling quarters of the two imperialist powers, this structure should also block the growing movement of peoples of that region to turn it into a nuclear-free zone. Despite the fact that the US administration and Japanese government spare nothing in their efforts to conceal the political and military nature of the future Pacific Community, emphasising those aspects of cooperation that are most attractive to the developing countries, the states of the region have given a lukewarm response to the idea. The states of the region are becoming increasingly aware of the role which has been prepared for the Pacific countries in the "think tanks" of Washington and Tokyo.

Japan's military-political cooperation with the NATO countries have become considerably more active of late, particularly with those countries where the new American nuclear missiles are being deployed. According to press reports, at present Tokyo has been trying to gain "permanent observer" status at NATO headquarters. In this it has the full support of Washington which is seeking to build an all-embracing strategic structure for the West, in which Japan would become its Far Eastern flank. The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs has already started consultations on military and economic matters with the FRG, Britain, Italy and France. A government spokesman, stated in Parliament that a mechanism for exchanging information relating to conditions in the most important regions of the world has been created between Japan and the NATO countries.

As it is aware that, due to certain domestic circumstances (constitutional limitations, opposition by other parties, progressive forces and the peaceable

public, etc.) the Japanese government is unable to build up its military might and increase military spending as rapidly as Washington would like, the US administration is working to increase Tokyo's assistance to its allies. In this matter, too, Japan is willingly meeting its senior partner halfway.

\* \* \*

Shintaro Abe, Japan's Foreign Minister, mentioned the "improvement of Japan's minimal defensive potential" among the major tasks which need to be accomplished to ensure the country's security. What is the country's potential today and why should it be improved?

It is common knowledge that Japan presently ranks fourth among the United States' allies in terms of the tonnage of its Navy, which is regarded as one of most modern and efficient in the West. Japan ranks fifth in the number of submarines and sixth in the number of combat aircraft. Its armed forces (about 245,000 officers and men) are approximately equal to the British Army in terms of numerical strength. According to estimates by Western experts, the Japanese "self-defense force" ranks sixth among the armies of the leading capitalist nations and, according to *Yomiuri*, is becoming one of the strongest armies in Asia. It is indicative that since 1979 Japan's military production has doubled and continues to increase twice as fast as in Western Europe.

However, the military might already achieved no longer satisfies Japan's ruling quarters or the owners of the biggest monopolies which are closely tied to military production. This is most vividly confirmed by the steady growth of the budget of the National Defense Agency (NDA). In the 1985 fiscal year (which began on April 1, 1984), Japan's military spending increased by 6.9 per cent as compared

with 1984 and amounted to an unprecedented sum in the country's postwar history—3.14 trillion yen (\$12.55 billion). In an attempt to comfort the Japanese public, the government and military have declared that this time, too, military allocations will not exceed one per cent of the Gross National Product as was stipulated by an earlier government decision. But what is the margin left? Simple calculation shows it to be as narrow as a mere 0.003 per cent.

The rate at which the NDA budget is growing brings many Japanese social scientists to make gloomy forecasts. Professor K. Tomiyama of Kanto Gakuin University, for example, predicts that, in terms of absolute military expenditures, Japan may be at the top of the list by the end of the current decade.

Of late Washington's urge to convert the northwestern area of the Pacific into a strategic springboard spearheaded against the Soviet Union is becoming increasingly clear. Japan is to play a key role in these designs. The US administration is even ready to play down somewhat its objections to Japanese economic policy if Tokyo consents to make an increasingly impressive contribution to the military-political alliance between the two countries. As for the Japanese authorities, they are willingly meeting their US ally halfway.

In November 1984 Akahata wrote: "Japan is quickly moving towards becoming a bridgehead of Washington's global strategy." Succumbing to US pressure, Japan took upon itself the obligation to "defend" sealanes 1,000 nautical miles offshore and, in "an emergency" the international sea straits. In order to meet these commitments Japan has been rapidly building up its Navy and anti-submarine aircraft. New missiles are being developed, and their batteries will be pointed at the straits. Having re-

ceived Tokyo's consent the US had begun deploying its F-16 fighter-bombers at the Misawa air base. These planes are capable of reaching Soviet territory with a load of nuclear bombs. In January 1983 the Nakasone government gave its official consent to a transfer of Japanese military knowhow to the US. In November 1983 an intergovernment agreement was signed defining the procedure for technology transfer and providing for the creation of a special bilateral commission to this end.

Among the Japanese R and D which interest the Pentagon are information on gallium arsenide semi-conductors, means of communication based on fibre optics, super integrated circuits, the technology for producing a new type of ceramics, heat resistant materials, laser technology, and so on. The fact that the Japanese government has agreed to transfer advanced military technology to the US is another piece of evidence pointing to a serious change in Tokyo's policy towards practical support for the American policy of initiating a new round of the arms race.

The massive propaganda campaign launched by the Liberal Democratic Party and the government that is designed to "justify" the build-up of the country's military might on the basis of a "Soviet military threat", and convince the Japanese public of the "legality" of Tokyo's territorial claims concerning a number of islands in the Southern Kurils which belong to the Soviet Union, accompanies Japan's rapid remilitarisation. Whipping up the campaign, Yasuhiro Nakasone reiterated in his policy speech at the 102nd session of Parliament in January 1985 that Japan would persistently work to solve the problem of the so-called "northern territories". He emphasised the government's intention to secure a "comprehensive revision of the

postwar results". In addition he again mentioned the "growth of the Soviet military threat".

Such steps by the Japanese ruling quarters do nothing to improve the international situation in Asia, nor do they create a climate of goodneighbourliness and confidence in relations between Japan and the USSR. Due to the policies pursued by Tokyo, the current state of these relations can hardly be regarded as satisfactory. Though Japanese leaders have recently made statements concerning Tokyo's urge to improve relations with the Soviet Union, these words have unfortunately not been followed by deeds.

As far as the USSR is concerned, it has invariably favoured friendly, profound and multifarious relations between our two countries. Soviet proposals, which are constructive and permeated with concern for peace, have been presented to the Japanese, and they are aimed at attaining precisely those objectives. They include proposals that a treaty be signed on goodneighbourliness and mutually beneficial cooperation, and that an agreement be reached, under which the USSR would guarantee non-use of nuclear weapons against Japan, while the Japanese side would pledge strictly to maintain its non-nuclear status. All these initiatives, however, have so far aroused no response from the Japanese government.

Like all capitalist states, Japan constantly faces a host of domestic and foreign problems. These include highly complex problems related to foreign trade, which is vital to Japan. As the facts prove, however, Japanese leaders are becoming increasingly absorbed by military matters, particularly the question of joining forces with the aggressive strategy of the US and NATO. The militaristic tone of Japan's policies cannot but alarm its

neighbours as well as the peaceable public of Asian countries. It also contradicts the national interests of the Japanese people which resolutely oppose the threat of a nuclear war and favour a genuinely independent foreign policy for Japan. ■

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### COMMISSION MEETING ON DEVELOPING NATIONS' ECONOMIES, POLICIES

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 86 pp 61-62

[Article by Cand. Sc. (Econ.) Vladimir Isayev: "Developing Nations in the 1980's: New Facts and Trends"]

[Text]

New facts and trends characteristic of the current phase of the newly-independent countries' development were the central point of discussion at the recent 8th meeting of the Problems Commission on Multilateral Cooperation under the auspices of the socialist nations' academies of sciences. The Commission met in Prague to discuss questions relating to the economies and policies of the developing nations. The principal report was made by Prof. L. Dvoržák from Czechoslovakia. The supporting paper was presented by the Soviet economist G. Shirokov.

Both speakers pointed out that during the past decade the following international factors have had an increasing impact on the internal situation in the developing countries: the balance of power in the world, the interaction between the two world systems, and the military and political situation in the regions and around the world.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s the struggle between the forces of war and peace was sharply aggravated with the imperialist powers providing reactionary governments with overt support and placing national liberation movements under increasing pressure. The worsening international situation as a whole and the growing confrontation between the two world systems accelerated the process of class differentiation in many Asian, African and Latin American countries and forced them to adopt a more clearcut stand on major international issues, specifically, war and peace. As a result, reactionary regimes took more vigorous action while growth and consolidation occurred among the anti-war and anti-imperialist forces in developing countries; their interaction and cooperation with other international anti-imperialist and anti-war forces, led by the socialist nations also grew and strengthened.



In the early 1980s the world capitalist system was plagued by a recession which hit both the industrialised and developing nations hard, particularly in terms of the latter's position on the world market. Firstly, there was a relative decline in the demand for their primary products. The major causes of the troublesome market situation were as follows: the switch from a resource-intensive to a conservationist and science-intensive model of society's development; extensive use of secondary raw materials and increased mineral extraction in the hitherto untapped northern areas of Europe, Alaska, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and other countries; as well as expanded trade among the Western industrialised nations. This process resulted in a change of leaders in the developing world: the oil-exporting countries, which had the highest growth rates in the latter part of the 1970s dropped to second place behind the newly-industrialised nations in the 1980s.

Secondly, chronic agricultural backwardness and the urgent need for imported raw materials and semi-finished goods in many industries caused the export pattern of the developed capitalist countries to change. Available estimates indicate that by the mid-1980s food, raw materials and unfinished products accounted for a half of the developed capitalist countries' exports.

These problems were taken up by the participants in the discussion, including Academician M. Chimay (Hungary), Prof. P. Petkov (Bulgaria), Prof. V. Zadzikowski (Poland), Dr. A. Golub and Dr. N. Ordnung (Czechoslovakia) and others.

Given the structural and cyclical crises suffered by the imperialist countries the import of manufactured goods is opposed both by businessmen and by the workers who lose their jobs as a result. The wave of "new protectionism" is aimed at curtailing the export of manufactured goods from the more industrialised young nations. The drop in the prices their products, particularly raw materials, have commanded and, on occasion, actual reduction in the volume of exports have adversely affected the developing countries' foreign exchange potential and forced them to seek new loans. As no real increase in official assistance for development on an intergovernmental level was forthcoming they had to turn to commercial money markets where the terms of credit were immeasurably harder both as regards scheduling and rates of interest. As a result, their indebtedness continued to rise rapidly. According to the World Bank it had exceeded \$900 billion by the end of 1985. Today the developing countries have to set aside 50 per cent of their export earnings for the repayment of debts (in 1979, 36 per cent of their export earnings went to debt repayment).

As many of the speakers, including Prof. A. Ray (Cuba), Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences V. Volsky, Prof. J. Cezar (Czechoslovakia) and Dr. D. Haisandai (Mongolia), pointed out, international financial mechanisms were used to redistribute incomes in favour of imperialist powers while no increase in the developing countries' solvency was seen. The attempts they make to raise their export earnings encounter formidable roadblocks. Higher rates of economic growth and increased export production require, first and foremost, larger imports of machinery and equipment, spare parts and materials which are used to expand industry and agriculture. The burden of paying the interest on their loans and the drop in export earnings are forcing the developing countries to cut their imports.

Growing militarisation, emphasised Dr. H. Travieso (Cuba), Dr. F. Vyhodil (Czechoslovakia), Prof. R. Wunsche (GDR), and Dr. L. Lang (Hungary) adversely affects the economic and social progress of the newly-independent countries, adding to their backwardness and dependence. For these reasons opposing the military threat and supporting international detente are two of their priorities.

The economic and political changes that have occurred in the Third World in the 1980s point to a new historical phase in their development which is characterised by bigger involvement in the solution of world problems, slower rates of economic growth, increasing dependence on external financial and technological resources, as well as greater social tension and internal political instability.

Summing up results of the discussion Chairman of the Problems Commission Academician E. Primakov (USSR) emphasised that the TNCs have penetrated further into the developing countries' economies and now have a greater influence on their policies. A certain measure of rapprochement between part of the national bourgeoisie and foreign capital has inspired talk in the West that anti-imperialism is a bygone policy in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Without underestimating this phenomenon it should be pointed out that far from all of the bourgeoisie has been drawn into TNCs' orbit. This explains the occasional sharp rise in social tension, which has its roots in the conflicting interests of various bourgeois groups, the negative stance individual bourgeois groups take with respect to the activities of foreign capital and TNCs, and, consequently, the anti-imperialist sentiments of these groups.

Primakov concluded by saying that the Commission's activities are an effective means of

mobilising and pooling the scientific resources of the socialist nations. Its programmes and projects help those countries' scientific institutions formulate up-to-date lines and methods of research into the vital problems of the newly-independent nations, establish creative and lasting ties, carry on an extensive exchange of views concerning the results of this research and map out joint research programmes. ■

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### RUSSIAN LANGUAGE STUDY IN TUNISIA DESCRIBED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 86 pp 76-77

[Article by Yuri Yelizarov: "Russian in Tunisia"]

#### [Text]

"What brings you here?" I ask students of the Russian language classes at the Soviet Cultural Centre in Tunisia who were gathered in the auditorium.

"I want to be a doctor and go to the Soviet Union to study there, so I am getting ready for that", a pretty girl named Rafika says in Russian with a little blush. A first-year student, she chooses her words carefully. "My country needs specialists in farming," Fatkhi, who shares a desk with Rafika, says in French, "so I plan to enter an agricultural institute in the USSR though I have not chosen one yet", he adds with a smile. In a sing-song a young girl recites a line from the Soviet poet, Vladimir Mayakovsky—"I would learn Russian just because Lenin spoke it",—and then quickly retreats without naming herself. Two boys who interrupt each other in their attempt to gain the attention of the foreign correspondent give what is probably their first interviews. They passionately explain that to learn the language of another people is to gain a better understanding of its history and culture, successes and concerns, joys

and challenges since understanding is a vehicle of friendship, love and peace, and the enemy of rivalry and hostility. They strongly believe this to be the most pressing issue of our time.

"You know, young fellow," says Abdallah Fadel Farra, Assistant Director of the Department of Culture at the League of Arab Countries' Organisation for Education, Culture and Science whose headquarters is located in Tunisia, "you know, foreign languages are both my trade and by hobby. I'm a writer and philologist, and currently I'm doing a comparative analysis of the Arabic and Russian languages. Besides, I think that one should read the classics of Russian and Soviet literature, which have an important place in world literature, in the original. Many of my acquaintances speak one or more foreign languages in addition to their native Arabic, and French which could hardly be called a foreign language in this country. Nobody, however, speaks Russian. But I want to!" he concludes with an air of such resolve that the listener is convinced he will soon attain his goal.

Whatever reasons made

people of various ages and walks of life pick up the book on which the words "The Russian Language" are written, be it a desire to learn a particular trade in the USSR, or political sympathies, or professional considerations, all of them want to know more about the Soviet Union, and to understand better the people who is justly called a great nation.

The 1980 Olympic Games, held for the first time in Moscow, the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students which brought thousands of young boys and girls from around the globe together in Moscow last summer and, of course, the festivities to mark the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism further intensified the interest in the Russian language throughout the world, and in Tunisia in particular. The students' conversation that I overheard in front of an exhibition of photos about the Great Patriotic War, which was displayed outside the Soviet Cultural Centre; the questions an auto mechanic asked about the Soviet Union; and a discussion on the theme "In Memory of the Hour 40 Years Ago When the Last Shot of World War II Rang Out" organised for the Russian language students at the Centre, all convinced me that many Tunisians now see the Soviet people's feat which saved humankind from the brown plague of nazism in a new light.

According to data compiled by the International Association of the Russian Language and Literature Teachers approximately 23 million people in more than 80 countries are learning Russian today. In order to improve the teaching of Russian and raise its efficiency the Soviet government decided in 1974 to establish the Pushkin Institute of Russian Language

on the basis of the scientific and methodological centre at Moscow State University. Its tasks are to supervise the teaching of the Russian language to foreign students in the USSR, to compile and publish textbooks, handbooks and programmes for foreign students who learn Russian both in the USSR and abroad, to maintain ties with foreign educational establishments and organisations where Russian is taught and coordinate its activities with them. The institute has branches in many countries, a publishing house, *Russky Yazyk*, and a magazine, *Russkii yazyk za rubezhom*.

In 1975, Russian was formally added to the curricula of three institutions of higher learning in Tunisia. Russian is spoken daily in the classrooms and halls of the Bourguiba School of Living Languages. Some 180 students learn Russian as their second compulsory language on the basis of Pushkin Institute programmes. The School's curriculum also includes Arabic, French, English, German, Spanish, Italian, Chinese and Japanese. The Bourguiba School is the only educational centre in Africa which offers lectures on Russian and Soviet literature and the Soviet Union's geography and history in addition to practical language hours. Extensive use is made of language tapes, documentary and feature films, etc. In accordance with a 1981 agreement with the Pushkin Institute, Tunisian students of Russian spend two months at the Institute while graduates are eligible for a ten-month course of study there. The most gifted and diligent students may subsequently take the Pushkin Institute post-graduate correspondence course.

The Russian courses offered by the Philology Department of Tunisian University are open

to all. Currently 30 students are enrolled. Two students first spent their 1985 winter vacation on a study programme in Moscow. At the Ecole nationale des ingénieurs du Tunisie (ENIT), which was built in 1968 with Soviet technological assistance, Russian has been an optional subject since ENIT first opened its doors.

The eleventh anniversary is a modest but, nevertheless, a remarkable date suggesting certain results. In 1976-1977 only 75 students took Russian, while in 1983-1984 among those graduating that year alone 217 knew it. Much has already been done but much more remains to be accomplished. One task is to put language programmes for Tunisian students in the USSR and their post-graduate work at Soviet institutions of higher learning on a regular footing. "Regrettably, the general contract between our instructors and ENIT does not formalise Russian as a compulsory subject," says Yevgeni G. Chaly, an instructor of Russian at Tunisian University.

Russian is not only taught in Tunisia's institutions of higher learning, however. A prominent part in its popularisation is played by the Soviet Cultural Centre. The fact alone that some 300 people are enrolled in its language courses speaks for itself. They are housewives, students, teachers, industrial and office workers. Last year, even a pensioner attended the courses. Recently a class for children has been organised. These activities have made possible the appearance of national teachers of Russian in Tunisia. Two Tunisians, Rafik Zaiby and Mokhsen Tun-sy, work here side by side with their Soviet colleagues.

Rafik is a graduate of the Odessa Medical College. When back at home, he decided to use his knowledge for the benefit of

public health and increased understanding between the peoples of the two countries. He recalls his student days and Soviet friends with enthusiasm and his passion for the Russian language enralls his listeners. "As for me, I began my study of Russian here," says Mokhsen during an interval when we were talking with Assistant Director of the Soviet Cultural Centre, Nikolai A. Latov, who heads the courses. "After graduating from the Bourguiba School I continued my education in the Soviet Union where I did post-graduate work at the Pushkin Institute. In 1984, I defended a thesis in philology," he adds with a hint of pride and then hurriedly departs for his class. "Rafik and Mokhsen are terrific chaps," Latov comments. "They work with enthusiasm. They both teach and help me organise extracurricular activities. There is plenty of work to do. Thus the Russian Language Fan Club at the Cultural Centre regularly organises literary and musical soirées devoted to the life and work of one or another Russian or Soviet writer. At the soirée, club members read the great Russian poets Alexander Pushkin, Mikhail Lermontov and Alexander Blok, the world-famous pre-revolutionary Russian writer Anton Chekhov, the Soviet poet Vladimir Mayakovsky and writer Mikhail Sholokhov.

The Centre's section on geography and history of the USSR has a good library and is intended for those who want to gain a better understanding of our country's past and present. In addition there is a chess section and arts amateur group whose members sing songs and read poems in Russian.

The Russian language is a bridge of friendship between the peoples of the USSR and

other countries. In conclusion  
I would like to quote a Tun-  
sian student who said: "I am  
learning Russian because it is  
very beautiful. It is the langua-  
ge of peace and cooperation."

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### REVIEW: PROBLEMS OF INDIA'S CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 86 pp 94-95

[Article by Alexander Cherkasov]

[Text]

*Framework of Indian Politics*, New Delhi, 1983, 329 pp.

The collection of articles under review is the result of research undertaken by a group of Indian political scientists, most of whom lecture at India's most prestigious educational institutions. The articles discuss complex and topical issues pertaining to the country's constitutional development. M. M. Sankhdher, S. Raman and R. K. Sarkar examine such an important aspect of the constitutional mechanism as the relationship which exists between the Indian Parliament and government, on the one hand, and the Supreme Court, on the other. They note that the Supreme Court has tried more than once to use its constitutional powers to torpedo progressive moves by the Indian government. Therefore, the curtailment of the Court's powers to supervise the Constitution, is on the whole, in the interests of the Indian people. At the same time, the authors fear that were such a step to be taken the balance which exists between the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government would be upset. Whereas M. M. Sankhdher and S. Raman do not do more than point out the problem, R. K. Sarkar suggests a solution. He believes that it would be expedient to set up a National Council similar to the Constitutional Council in France, which would consist of persons appointed by the President, MPs and members of the Supreme Court. This body would ensure that the laws passed by Parliament were constitutional. In this way the Supreme Court of India would be deprived of the right to supervise the Constitution,

while the constitutional structure of the state would be preserved (p. 116).

Indian federalism is the subject of the articles by N. S. Gehlot and R. S. Gautam. They analyse the relationship between the federal government and the states, how stability is maintained in the states, and the role the federal system plays in the party and political struggle. The authors strongly disagree with the definition of India as a "unitary" and "quasi-federative" state, terms commonly used in the writings of some Western and Indian scholars. They maintain that the Indian Union is a federation in which power is clearly divided between the centre and the states as laid down in the Constitution (p. 134).

The article by R. V. Sharma is of much interest. It discusses the so-called farmers' lobby through which the upper strata of the peasantry which have grown stronger economically and politically in the course of India's "green revolution" seek to influence the decision-making at the national level. R. V. Sharma examines the "lobby and the numerous farmers' organisations, which are affiliated with various political parties.

Parliamentary democracy in India today is considered by R. Lal. Having thoroughly analysed all the pros and cons of the parliamentary and presidential forms of government, he concludes that should the presidential system replace the parliamentary one in India, the country's political mechanism would not become more efficient. On the contrary, Lal reasons, such a step would add to the constitutional difficulties which now exist. He notes that the point is not to replace one form of rule with another,



but to reform the existing system so as to make democracy more purposeful and efficient (p. 222).

Regrettably, not all of the articles in the collection are equally valuable from the point of view of scholarship. For example, N. D. Arora provides interesting statistics on parliamentary elections. However, when analysing the party system in India today, he cites, as a rule, the data gathered in the mid-1960s and early 1970s.

V. K. Tyagha's article on the Janata Party when it was in power (1977-1979) offers nothing new on a subject which has already been thoroughly covered by Indian political scientists.

Certain shortcomings notwithstanding, the collection provides a broad panorama of India's current stage of constitutional development.

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### BOOKS ON AFRICAN, ASIAN PROLETARIAT REVIEWED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 86 pp 95-96

[Article by Cand. Sc. (Hist.) Alexander Notin]

#### [Text]

«Рабочий класс стран Африки». Отв. ред. М. И. БРАГИНСКИЙ. Москва, «Наука», 1983, 222 стр.  
«Рабочий класс Азии». Отв. ред. А. С. КАУФМАН. Москва, «Наука», 1985, 287 стр.  
*The African Working Class*, Ed. by M. I. BRAGHINSKY, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1983, 222 pp. *The Asian Working Class*, Ed. by A. S. KAUFMAN, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1985, 287 pp.

The current social situation in Asia and Africa is distinguished by the growing social significance of the proletariat and the intensification of its struggle. The last 15 to 20 years have seen profound changes in the development of the Afro-Asian proletariat. These must be assessed and generalised in light of the latest advances in Oriental studies. An attempt has been made by the authors' teams of two reference works which are entitled the *African Working Class* and *The Asian Working Class*.

These reference books show the structural dynamics of the working class in many industries. Thus in the mid-1970s the industrial, construction, transport, and communication workers made up over a third of Africa's army of hired labour. The accelerated growth of the proletariat has been observed in Nigeria, South Africa, Egypt, Algeria, India, and some Southeast Asian countries.

The reference books emphasise the tangible consequences the scientific

and technological revolution has had on the working class in developing countries. Industrialisation, the alienation of workers from the countryside, the dying out of seasonal work and changing cultural and living conditions have radically reshaped the proletariat and raised its general level of vocational and technological skill.

The proletariat's political struggle and its problems are given a prominent place in the books under review. The authors pinpoint factors hindering emergent nations' working class from setting genuinely proletarian objectives. At the same time, they emphasise that as "the imperialist countries' former colonies are no longer isolated, the African and Asian nations have broad opportunities for establishing friendly relations and developing cooperation with the working class of the USSR and the other socialist community countries, and with the international workers' movement in general".

One remarkable feature of these reference books is certainly the broad area they cover geographically and the skill with which the material is arranged. Each article cites data on the geography, the state systems and specifics of political systems of the countries observed. They give facts on the size, composition, structure and socio-economic position of the local proletariat. At the close of each article the author describes the situation in the workers' and trade union movement.

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### BOOK ON NONALIGNED MOVEMENT REVIEWED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 86 p 96

[Article by Cand. Sc. (Hist.) Yuri Irkhin]

[Text]

V. V. BENEVOLENSKY, *The Non-aligned Movement: from Belgrade to Delhi*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1985, 135 pp.

An important new monograph on the nonaligned movement has come off the press. Its author is Vsevolod Benevolensky, a well-known Soviet scholar, Deputy Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences.

The book combines a scientific approach to the study of topical issues in the nonaligned movement with a style of lively discussion.

It gives a vivid account of the movement's history: from the First Conference (Belgrade, September 1961) at which 25 countries were represented to the Seventh Forum in New Delhi, which was attended by 97 heads of state or government of nonaligned countries apart from observers and guests. It goes to the author's credit that while demonstrating the considerable achievements and successes of the movement, he also discusses the difficulties it has encountered, and examines the present-day ideological struggle with regard to the problems and prospects of the movement's evolution.

The book is based on an historical analysis, and this makes it possible profoundly to reveal the dynamics of the nonaligned movement, demonstrate the dialectics of its driving forces and prospects for development. The author is absolutely right in saying that the emergence of the movement is objective in nature. The nonaligned movement came into being and continues to develop as a result of the vigorous struggle against imperialism

which has been using diverse means to infringe upon and limit the national interests of the newly-free states. These include the arms race, preparations for a global war, local military operations spearheaded against a number of nonaligned countries, and the maintenance of the international system of monetary-economic relations which ensures the exploitation of the developing world.

The movement established itself in the 1960s; the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s was a period of qualitative change which mirrored the enhanced role the newly-free countries claimed on the world scene, and their more intense struggle against imperialism and reaction.

First, in those years the nonaligned movement became global in terms of its composition. Moreover, it came to embrace actually all the continents. Today, the countries of the movement account for almost two-thirds of the UN membership, and not a single important resolution can be adopted by the UN General Assembly without their support.

Second, the anti-imperialist edge of the nonaligned movement has been further developed. Starting with the Fourth Conference (Algeria, September 1973) the movement has emphasised collective forms of struggle for economic independence and elaborated a programme of action for establishing a "new international economic order". Their demands are a bill of sorts, presented by the developing countries to the capitalist states which utilise neocolonial methods in their foreign economic ties.

Third, the nonaligned movement has also further developed in terms of

improving its organisational structure. With the setting up of the Coordination Bureau and its permanent headquarters in New York, the movement's member states are now better able to coordinate their stands and information is exchanged faster.

In spite of the greater pressure brought to bear by imperialism, the nonaligned countries have, on the whole, succeeded in strengthening their unity and solidarity with other contingents of the anti-imperialist forces. In a bid to undermine the movement, the ideologists of imperialism have been imposing the concept of "equidistance" from the USSR and the US on the movement, seeking to turn it into a "third force", equally opposed to NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. The book contains a thorough analysis of the methodological untenability of that concept and the danger it presents to the movement. A special section demonstrates convincingly that attempts to equate the capitalist and socialist states, run counter to the general anti-imperialist edge of the non-aligned movement, contradict the letter and spirit of its fundamental documents and conflict with its essential interest in maintaining a close alliance with world socialism.

The final chapter of the book, "Friends and Enemies of the Non-aligned Movement", will undoubtedly be of interest to readers. Citing a wealth of facts and figures, the author demonstrates that since its inception the nonaligned movement has always had reliable friends and allies among the members of the socialist community. The stand taken by the US and other capitalist states is fundamentally different. They make use of the most diverse means at their disposal, including political and diplomatic pressure on the developing countries, in order to undermine the anti-imperialist, anti-colonial and anti-racist edge of the movement, and curb its growing effectiveness in the struggle for peace and the establishment of a new democratic international economic and information order. Clearly, the book provides an exhaustive answer to the question of who the friends and allies and who the enemies of the non-aligned movement are.

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### GROMYKO CALLS FOR END TO RACISM, COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 4, Jul-Aug 86 pp 6-8

[Article by Anatoli Gromyko, corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences:  
"Racism and Colonialism in Africa Must Be Ended!"]

#### [Text]

The support given by the Soviet Union to the struggle of the peoples for national emancipation and social progress has been a major trend in Soviet foreign policy. The new edition of the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union points out that the CPSU regards it as its internationalist duty to support the struggle waged by peoples that are still under the yoke of racism and are victims of apartheid. In conformity with this policy, the USSR has been consistently taking tangible steps to assist the oppressed peoples in delivering from both traditional and new forms of colonialism, and also from such anachronisms of capitalist society as racism and apartheid.

The political map of Africa has changed beyond recognition during the last quarter century. Fifty independent states, which today account for a third of the UN members, have sprung up in place of the colonial empires.

The elimination of colonialism in Africa is not yet complete, however. On the southern end of the continent there is

South Africa, where apartheid—a racist regime—that the UN justly equates to a colonial regime continues to dominate. The overwhelming majority of its population has been subjected to merciless exploitation and has long been deprived of fundamental rights. About 25 million Africans have no right to move freely on the territory of their own country; they cannot settle in areas assigned only to Whites; they have no right to vote; they get much smaller wages than Whites for the same type of work. Without limiting itself to oppression of the population of South Africa, despite numerous decisions taken by the UN, the country's ruling quarters continue the unlawful occupation of neighbouring Namibia, spreading to it the misanthropic order of apartheid.

The aggressive nature of the South African regime finds its manifestation in incessant hostilities against neighbouring peaceloving states, including Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho, and Botswana. The Pretoria regime poses a threat to the whole of independent Africa, and the peoples of the continent are fully aware of it. In the decisions

made by a Special Declaration of the Pan-African Conference on Security, Disarmament and Development, which was held on the initiative of the UN and the Organisation of African Unity last August in the city of Lomé, the capital of Togo, the regime of apartheid was mentioned among the basic causes of political and economic instability and of the arms race in the region. Representatives of African countries called on the USA and other Western countries to discontinue all kinds of aid and support to Pretoria and demanded that the inhuman regime of racial hatred be completely eradicated.

The South African rulers are in no hurry, however, to make concessions, because the racist state enjoys the patronage and support of world imperialism, and it would have long ceased to exist without such financial and political aid. About two thousand companies from Britain, the USA, France, the FRG and other Western countries reap fabulous profits from the cruel exploitation of Africans. These companies have invested many millions in the key branches of the South African economy. The actual allies carefully protect the racist regime from the mounting indignation of the African and world public, which is growing in strength.

The oppressed African population of that country has been waging an indefatigable struggle against this specific type of colonialism established by the white minority that usurped power in South Africa. As a result of the cruel repressions practised by the South African authorities, incalculable numbers of Africans have fallen victim to the regime. This struggle is headed by the time-tested leader of the national liberation movement in South Africa—the African National Congress of South

Africa (ANC)—with the South African Communist Party acting an alliance with it. Though a proponent of non-violent methods of struggle, the ANC is compelled to resort to armed struggles to rebuff the inhuman acts of the racist authorities and to secure democratic changes in the country.

Of late, the political and economic crisis of apartheid has intensified. More and more new contingents of the African population are being drawn into the national liberation struggle, which continues to mount, rather than to subside, despite the merciless repressions on the part of South Africa's rulers. The scope of the present-day mass struggle by Africans against the racist regime testifies that the overwhelming majority of the population is unwilling to live in the old way, and that it is fully resolved to put an end to the regime of apartheid. Within the framework of the United Democratic Front, set up in August 1983, which unites about 700 different organisations, the social base of the opponents of the apartheid is expanding.

Simultaneously, "Umkhonto we sizwe" ("The Spear of the Nation") is intensifying its military activity. The national consultative conference of the ANC, held last summer, decided to build up armed actions. At the same time, it should be noted that the ultimate goal of the struggle waged by the ANC is to create a general democratic state with equal rights for all citizens, rather than establish a "dictatorship of Africans", as some right-wing quarters in the West claim. This is mentioned in the Freedom Charter, the policy-making document of the South African patriots. In an interview, Tabo Mbeki, a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC, stressed: "We constantly emphasise that it is not the Blacks and the Whites, but democracy and

reaction that are fighting each other in South Africa."

Given the mounting national liberation movement, on the one hand, and the sharper criticism of apartheid at international forums, on the other, the racist government of South Africa is finding it increasingly difficult to implement its policies with the help of repression alone. That is why, in addition to terrorism, it resorts to political manoeuvring, seeking to lead the world public astray and split the national liberation movement of the oppressed majority.

Present-day apartheid differs from that of the 1970s. It is now marked by intensified propaganda tricks, a search for new methods of exploitation and, at the same time, a readiness to use force, aggression and terrorism without any hesitation when the foundations of apartheid are threatened.

Pieter Botha, President of South Africa, a minion of the big monopoly bourgeoisie and the military-industrial complex of South Africa, which are closely intertwined with the world of capital, has been trying to implement certain cosmetic reforms "from above", this being merely a tactical manoeuvre designed to consolidate the system of apartheid and remove its anachronistic attributes. This includes hypocritical operations towards eliminating "petty apartheid" such as, for example, the reform of the constitution and parliament (1984), according to which besides 4.8 million Whites, the so-called "coloureds" and Asians were given "the right to vote", limited representation in parliament and the cabinet of ministers. There are some three million "coloureds" and Asians in the country—but what about the 25 million Africans? Until recently, the regime hypocritically and cruelly granted them the "right" to be citizens of "black national

states", in other words, of ethnic reservations for Africans (bantustans), accounting for about 13 per cent of the territory, and completely deprived them of political rights throughout the rest of the territory, which was declared "white South Africa". Africans even have no passports. Hundreds of thousands of people are forcibly driven to the reservations, where they are doomed to unemployment, stagnation and hunger. The world public describes such "political self-determination" as an outrage against the fundamental concepts of human rights. Not a single state in the world has recognised the so-called "independent bantustans", the establishment of which has been condemned by the UN, the OAU and the non-aligned movement.

On October 1, 1985, President Botha told the conference of the ruling Nationalist Party in Cape Province that his government was seeking to replace apartheid by "coexistence and collaboration" between different racial groups. His programme for the future "reforms" shows, however, that the essence of the system existing in South Africa is to remain intact. Botha continues to reject the possibility of including black South Africans in parliament. Moreover, the system of bantustans, as well as the discriminatory laws concerning separate residence and education of different racial groups, has been retained. Since the authorities are resolutely against granting the vote to Africans on the basis of the "one man—one vote" principle, "suffrage" for Africans will continue to be purely fictitious under the racists. Nevertheless, the West proclaims these obviously inadequate reforms to be a "step in the right direction" and demands that the people of South Africa and the world public express almost gratitude to Botha as a "mode-

rate" but "honest" reformer. The Africans, however, will not be deceived.

In South Africa, the struggle against apartheid and racism has assumed a nationwide character. Actually, all strata and social groups of the oppressed majority are taking part in it, but primarily the African population, which suffers most from the colonial and racist system in South Africa. South African Congress of Trade Unions was set up at the end of last year in Durban at the conference of South African working people. The congress proclaimed as its principal objectives elimination of the system of apartheid and racism and an end to the neocolonial exploitation of the country by Western corporations. The new organisation has united 50 South African trade unions, with more than 450,000 members. No doubt such tangible revolutionary shifts in the consciousness of the working people will result in a further intensification of the anti-racist cohesion of the Africans, in a numerical and qualitative growth of the contingents of fighters for complete elimination of the regime of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic system in the country.

The national liberation struggle on the territory of much suffering Namibia gives no indication of subsiding. Under the guidance of SWAPO (the South-West Africa People's Organisation), Namibian patriots deliver powerful strikes at the occupationist South African troops. The Namibian people resolutely reject the pseudo-independence that Pretoria's ruling quarters are trying to impose on it with the help of collaborationist elements. It demands complete and unconditional implementation of UN Resolution 435, which is constantly being violated by the racists, with the direct support of the USA and other NATO countries.

The South African ruling quarters ignore UN decisions and the demands voiced by the world public. They retain in Namibia their administration and troops, which number about 100,000. Since 1979, South Africa's expenditures on the occupation of Namibia have even exceeded profits from the exploitation of its population and natural resources. Today, South Africa spends over one billion rands for military purposes in Namibia, whereas the profits amount to about 850 million rands.

The racist government does not allow free democratic elections to be held in Namibia, fearing that the patriotic forces of the country, headed by SWAPO, which has been recognised by the UN General Assembly as the only genuine representative of the Namibian people, will win. This is a protracted struggle that craftily combines military, political and diplomatic methods. The People's Liberation Army of Namibia has been delivering ever more palpable blows at the South African troops.

On the pretext of waging a struggle against SWAPO, the South African military undertake bandit attacks against neighbouring Angola in a bid to aid the puppet terroristic UNITA grouping, which is on the payroll of South Africa, and to destabilise the progressive Angolan regime.

In its region, Pretoria combines police functions with active participation in the anti-communist "crusade", led by US reactionary forces. South Africa is assigned an important role in the anti-Soviet, anti-communist designs elaborated by Washington. In accordance with the above-mentioned schemes, the racist regime is seeking to frustrate African unity and isolate the newly-free states from their natural and true allies—the Soviet Union and the other



countries of the socialist community. Here lies one of the main reasons for the West's permanent flirtation with the racists.

The direct and indirect support rendered by governments and influential economic groupings in the West to the regime of apartheid in South Africa is today the main reason for the preservation of its domination in Southern Africa. It is precisely this support that raises obstacles to implementing the broad programme of actions against apartheid adopted by the 31st UN General Assembly back on November 12, 1976, as a supplement to Resolution 31/6, elaborated by the international community with the participation of governmental and public organisations. The programme envisages, for example, such measures as

- breaking off diplomatic, consular and other official relations with the South African racist regime;

- application of international sanctions against it in accordance with the decisions of the UN Security Council.

In fact, the above measures, provided for by the programme, have never been applied in full

against Pretoria. Moreover they have been regularly violated by many capitalist countries.

UN General Assembly Resolution 35/32 of November 24, 1980, again raised the question of the need to introduce all-embracing and obligatory sanctions against South Africa in conformity with Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

Yet imperialism continues to use its entire political, economic and military might to preserve its positions in Southern Africa, support the system of colonialism and racism there, and pursue the policy of neocolonialism in order to prolong the exploitation of the peoples in the developing countries.

The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community see their task and duty in helping eliminate the last stronghold of colonialism and racism in Africa, in supporting the just struggle of the peoples of newly-free countries for complete national independence and in helping them to get rid of economic fetters and putting an end to all forms of imperialist and neocolonial exploitation in Africa. ■

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### U.S. POLICIES IN ASIA CRITICIZED, REGION'S SECURITY STRESSED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 4, Jul-Aug 86 pp 13-16

[Article by Yuri Lugovskoy: "In the Interests of Security in Asia"]

#### [Text]

The programme for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons and other types of armaments of mass destruction by the end of the 20th century and the inadmissibility of militarisation of outer space, put forward in the Statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, met, in Asian countries, with profound interest and support. The programme is approved as a consistent, clear-cut and realistic set of measures designed to ensure reliable security on the biggest continent of the world inhabited by two-thirds of mankind. This task is more topical now than ever before.

The American brass-hats have long been seeking to draw Asia in the sphere of their global strategic preparations. Today, a contingent of US troops, second in size after those in Western Europe, has already been concentrated in the Asia-Pacific region. It includes more than a thousand combat aircraft, and 140 warships of the 7th fleet, which carry more than 1,500 nuclear charges.

Moreover, US strategists have been working for the broad inclusion of Asia in the sphere of action of the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI). For

example, from Japan Washington demands direct participation in the R & D provided for by the Star Wars programme, while from other countries, Washington expects moral and political approval of the US schemes for the militarisation of outer space. With this aim in view, US representatives have been persistently inculcating in the minds of the Asian public the opinion that the Star Wars programme will render nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete" and lead to their "dying away".

On the approaches to the Asian continent, the Pentagon has been rapidly building projects linked directly with the Star Wars plans. Tracking and guidance stations of the Space-track system have been built on Kwajalein Atoll in Micronesia, Japan, the Philippines, Australia and Diego Garcia Island in the Indian Ocean. The scope of this work confirms the great significance attached by the United States to Asia in its Star Wars plans. Via the radar stations located at the bases in the Indian Ocean, the American Command hopes to monitor the laser installations on space platforms, which would be able

to hit objects both in outer space and on earth. The Pacbar system (Pacific radar barrier) serves the same purpose.

The assertions that Asian security would stand to gain are nothing but a deliberate lie. It is self-evident that the preparations for Star Wars, far from leading to the elimination of nuclear weapons, will open up access to outer space. Thus, all obstacles are being removed to a new round of an uncontrollable arms race. The residents of Asia would hardly feel more secure if a nuclear sword of Damocles were to hang over their heads. Besides, such dangerous preparations make many Asian countries Pentagon hostages. While elaborating the scenarios for Star Wars, the American brass-hats believe that a retaliatory strike would be diverted from the USA to the springboards in Asia whence Washington would deliver the first "disarming strike".

The existence of such schemes is also confirmed by the fact that a large number of missiles and other carriers of nuclear charges based on sea and land have been stationed at Pentagon bases in the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

According to observers, from the very beginning Washington found it difficult to oppose the Soviet initiatives openly. This, however, does not prevent the American side from belittling their importance and raising obstacles to their implementation. The "preliminary conditions", advanced by representatives of the US administration, also serve this purpose, among other things. One of them is the "local conflicts" issue. In Washington's interpretation, it turns out that anywhere in the world, there are always "Moscow plots" behind economic or social transformations that are undesirable to the United States. It is self-evident that such

a distorted understanding of events mirrors an unwillingness to recognise the right of the other peoples, Asiatic included, to independent historical creativity, and an attempt to outlaw the liberation struggle and social progress.

It is indicative, in this connection, that of late US diplomacy has been going out of its way in particular to find different pretexts for justifying the use of force in so-called "low-intensity wars". When a country does something not to Washington's liking, the latter immediately starts sabre-rattling.

This principle underlies the concept of "neoglobalism", the authors of which are seeking to justify the methods of state terrorism against other countries in terms of the notorious US "vital interests". These "interests" are described as a substitute for the universally recognised standards of international life and are arbitrarily extended thousands of miles away from the United States.

Different economic reforms or social transformations carried out in other countries may not be appreciated in Washington, particularly if they infringe on the interests of Big Business. This, however, gives the latter no grounds to interfere. Moreover, not all developments in the world can be viewed exclusively within the context of "confrontation between the two superpowers". Suffice it to refer to data on the inequitable status of countries in the developing world in their financial relations and trade and economic ties with the West to realise the constant source of their contradictions. If these contradictions are intensifying, the reasons do not stem from "Moscow plots" but from the unwillingness of the US financial and industrial oligarchy to abandon methods of neocolonial exploitation of other peoples. Washington is

pable of reaching each other's territories would be reduced by fifty per cent. The application of these measures to Asia would open up broad vistas for a peaceful future for that continent. Today, big units of the US Navy are in that region, as well as their forward-based nuclear missiles which the inhabitants of Asian countries justly regard as a formidable threat.

The Soviet initiatives take full account of the provisions of the Delhi Declaration, adopted in January 1985 by India and five other states, which contains an appeal for a complete discontinuation of nuclear tests, a ban on nuclear armaments and the inadmissibility of the militarisation of outer space. Stressing this point, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India emphasised that the programme advanced by the Soviet Union was an alternative to the arming of outer space, a quest for real ways to liberate our planet from nuclear weapons.

The Soviet nuclear disarmament programme has been organically intertwined with the proposal to elaborate a comprehensive approach to the problem of security in Asia, set forth by Mikhail Gorbachev last year. "We regard our programme," Mikhail Gorbachev notes in his Statement, "as a contribution to the joint quest, together with all countries of Asia, for a common comprehensive approach to the formation of a system of security and of lasting peace on that continent." Its essence is to reveal points of interest and join the efforts of all Asian states in the search for a common peace formula. Although the path to it is not a smooth one, it is realistic. It is promoted by the development of bilateral contacts practised on a broad scale by the Soviet Union in Asia. As time passes, they may lead to the convocation of a Pan-Asiatic forum. Moreover,

ready to use all available methods, including force, to defend the sources of illegitimate profits in the developing world, which are described as the notorious "US vital interests".

Examples of many developments in the Middle East and other parts of Asia show that such a policy is fraught with great complications. That is why the Soviet Union opposes the artificial linkage between disarmament measures and "local conflicts". The USSR favours elimination of the latter, but to achieve this the US must cease to think in terms of imperial policies and give up its interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

The dialectics of the interdependence between the problems of ensuring peace, disarmament and freedom of peoples is evident. Stable security in Asia must be based primarily on respect for the independence of each nation. Peace in Asia, as everywhere, can not be attained via the arms race and the creation of regional "poles of power". More US weapons in Asia or in outer space above it will not add to security.

As a major Asian power, the Soviet Union naturally has an interest in the stable security on that continent. Moscow holds that the way to achieve this is through disarmament and the development of a universal political mechanism for regulating international affairs on the basis of the well-known principles of peaceful coexistence. That is why the plan for complete nuclear disarmament, expounded in the Statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, is of truly epoch-making significance. Already at the first stage of five to eight years, under conditions of a complete rejection of the creation and deployment of space armaments with strike capability, the nuclear weapons of the Soviet Union and the United States ca-

the Soviet Union has no intention of imposing any ready-made decisions on anyone because they can be found together. Each state, regardless of its size, can contribute to this common cause.

The well-known Bandung principles and many other positive ideas could serve the cause of peace in Asia. The Soviet Union and the PRC have pledged not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Mongolia, the DPRK, the countries of Indochina and Afghanistan have come out with a number of constructive proposals. Thirteen island states favour the declaration of the southern part of the Pacific Ocean a nuclear-free zone and have refused to allow US warships with nuclear weapons on board to call at their ports. India and other nonaligned countries are coming out for turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.

Without going into detail on each of the above-mentioned proposals, their main common features should be singled out. All these initiatives proceed from the need to find ways to ensure security in Asia via disarmament and renunciation of the use of force, and negotia-

tions, rather than through a new round of the arms race. Here they have much in common with the stand taken by the Soviet Union. The recognition of Asian realities, the renunciation of imperial concepts and apologetics for the cult of force would help the USA take its proper place within the system of international relations in that area.

Taking into account the mature needs of the situation in Asia could impel the inclusion of a demand to discontinue all nuclear tests in the concept of security on that continent. It could also include clear-cut opposition by all Asian states to the militarisation of outer space and participation, in any form, in preparations for it.

The Asian states are facing a lot of problems that can only be solved jointly and under conditions of peace. The majority of Asian countries have quite recently freed themselves from colonial dependence, and the implementation of the Soviet initiatives would do much to facilitate their development via disarmament. Given stable security, they could channel all their resources into creative efforts and a better future. ■

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### AFGHAN FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY OFFICIAL DESCRIBES COUNTRY'S STATUS

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 4, Jul-Aug 86 pp 19-22

[Article by Anahita Ratebzad, president of the Organization for Peace, Solidarity and Friendship of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan: "The People of Afghanistan in the Struggle for Peace and Progress"]

[Text]

The Afghan people are living through difficult times. Fighting on two fronts, they are repelling enemy attacks and treating the wounds of war, restoring what has been destroyed, and advancing along the road of social and economic transformations. The USA has launched an undeclared war against democratic Afghanistan. This war is conducted by counterrevolutionary gangs from territories of Iran and Pakistan. In spite of the enemies' intrigues, the political situation in the country is gradually becoming normalised, and the unification and consolidation of the patriotic forces are continuing. Today, the state's policy is vigorously supported by workers, peasants, craftsmen, and many tribes and nationalities. The people's power is backed by part of the national bourgeoisie and the clergy.

#### THE REVOLUTION AND THE MASSES

After the April 1978 Revolution in Afghanistan, dozens of centres were set up in Pakistan, Iran and China to train 40 to 50 thousand terrorists every year; these are then dispatched to the DRA to carry out subversive operations. In the last few years, the US has spent over \$1.25 billion to support the criminal war against Afghanistan. Japan and West Germany, Saudi Arabia and some other countries that are in cahoots with the USA, as well as a number of international organisations controlled by them, allocate \$650 million to \$1.2 billion annually for the counterrevolutionaries. China, Iran and Pakistan generously supply the dushmans with different types of modern Western-made weapons, including missiles.

Using the military aid of their foreign protectors, the bandits have destroyed and burned 39 buildings of state agencies, 133 mosques and

holy places, 2,707 schools, and 130 medical centres. The damage inflicted on the Republic by the criminal war amounts to 36 billion afghanis.

Given this situation, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) and the state believe it their sacred duty to create the necessary conditions for organising a firm rebuff to the enemy. The nature of the state in the DRA stems from the national democratic character of the April Revolution, the goals of which are clear to all: to ensure the people's well-being and to build a society of social justice with a developed economy and culture. The people have made historical decisions aimed at achieving freedom, consolidating national independence, and developing democracy, and they will not swerve from their chosen path.

Of historical importance at the current stage is the new strategic course set by the PDPA, the Revolutionary Council and the Government, aimed at expanding and strengthening the social basis of people's power. The Government has declared its readiness to establish wide-ranging national cooperation in the interests of all the people, and to achieve national unity and accord on a patriotic, democratic basis. Accordingly, trusted non-party representatives of all sections of the population and all nationalities have joined the Revolutionary Council, the Council of Ministers, and local bodies of state power and administration. There is an ongoing dialogue with those who are still neutral or even hostile to the authorities.

The Revolutionary Council has officially declared that nothing and nobody in the country can impede the establishment of organisations and public political groupings that do not oppose the goals of the April Revolution, that comply with the Republic's laws and work to meet the aspirations and interests of the non-exploiting strata and classes. The state is always ready to establish a constructive union with such organisations and groupings.

All the progressive and patriotic forces of the Republic have joined the National Patriotic Front, which today numbers some 760 thousand members of youth and women organisations, trades unions, progressive intellectuals, the clergy, tribes and nationalities, who carry out effective work.

Different sections of the population are actively drawn into the activities of the Party and public organisations. In the years since the Revolution, the PDPA membership has increased eightfold to reach 145,000; the membership in the Democratic Organisation of the Youth of Afghanistan (DOYA) has risen from 5 to 155 thousand, that of the Democratic Organisation of Women of Afghanistan (DOWA)—from 3 to 50 thousand,

and that of the DRA's trade unions—from 28 to 350 thousand.

In spite of the complex situation, democratisation of the country's political life is gaining momentum. Elections to local administrative bodies began in August 1985 in a number of provinces and towns, and are also scheduled in other regions. On the other hand, traditional forms of self-government, such as councils of elders and tribal djirgas, will be preserved in localities.

Some 90 per cent of the registered voters showed up at the polling stations. The elected djirgas include representatives of workers, peasants, and other sections of the working population, who account for 49.2 per cent of the total membership in these organs of power. The people's representatives are intellectuals, craftsmen, tribal chiefs and elders, clergymen, traders, industrialists, servicemen, and students. Women were elected to the new organs for the first time. Nationalities are also broadly represented in the djirgas. They include the Pushtuns, Tajiks, Khazare's, Beludjis (Baluchis), Uzbeks, Turkmen, Nuristans, Pashais, Hindus (those of Indian extraction), and other nationalities and tribes.

#### THE STATE SOCIO-ECONOMIC POLICY

The DRA's economy is encountering serious difficulties, and we are still dissatisfied with the results achieved in this area. Nevertheless, the counterrevolutionaries have not managed to disorganise the industrial management system or undermine local economic ties. In spite of the current difficulties, the national economy as a whole has achieved tangible progress.

In 1984, the GNP increased by 7.5 per cent. In the years since the Revolution, over 60 new industrial projects have been commissioned; power generation has risen by 50 per cent, production of construction materials—5 times, and the volume of freight haulage ten-fold.

A water and land reform is still underway. To date, 330,000 peasant families have been granted plots of land. All the peasants have been freed from the heavy burden of loans and debts to their feudal lords and landowners. The irrigation system is being improved, 3.8 billion afghanis having been invested in it in the last five years. The state helps the peasants by providing high-quality seed, fertilizer and agricultural implements; it has doubled the procurement price of raw cotton and sugar beet. At present there are 578 cooperatives in the country, with 127,000 members.

The Republic has defined the guidelines for its socio-economic development for 1986 to 1990. The GNP is expected to grow by a quarter, and progress is to be achieved in all spheres.

The positive changes in Afghanistan's economy have enabled the Government to carry out a num-



ber of measures aimed at increasing the workers' and civil servants' living standards, including a two-fold increase in their wages and salaries. The state has assumed the great cost of free meals for industrial workers, civil servants, students and schoolchildren during the working week. On the whole, the population's incomes have risen by 90 per cent.

Housing construction is gaining in scope, with the state financing the construction of a total of 300 thousand sq m of flats. The funds allocated for this purpose exceed the housing construction costs in Kabul's entire history.

The free health care system is being improved. The network of medical care institutions has been expanded to number 1,600. The numbers of hospital beds and doctors have increased by 80 and 40 per cent, respectively. Compared to the pre-revolutionary period, production of medicines has increased by 70 per cent, and their imports—by 113 per cent.

The PDPA and the revolutionary state believe their priority task is to eradicate illiteracy completely, to create a system of education, and to provide higher and secondary specialised training for skilled personnel.

The Afghan people realise that they need education as much as a soldier needs a gun in battle. The entire population was virtually illiterate before the Revolution. Today there are about 1,000 literacy courses in the country, attended by some 20,000 people; 1.25 million Afghans have learnt to read and write, and 409 educational institutions have been built in eight years. Instruction in national languages has been introduced, with Uzbek, Turkmen, Beludji (Baluchi), Urdu and Punjabi being taught to 6,000 children in 40 schools. Kabul University has opened three new departments; Nangarhar University and the State Medical Institute have been established. One important detail: children of workers and peasants are admitted to higher educational institutions without entrance examinations. Compared to the pre-revolutionary period, the number of Khazareis, Turkmen, Beludjis (Baluchis), Pashais, Nuristanis, and Hindus studying in the country's higher educational establishments and abroad has increased six-fold.

An Academy of Sciences of the DRA and unions of artists, poets, writers and journalists have been established for the first time in the country's history.

Printing and publishing have now reached the required level. At present, the Republic has 38 daily and weekly publications and 40 magazines, with a total output of 40 million copies. This is 12.5 times more than in the pre-revolutionary period. The Bahtar News Agency provides information to

35 news agencies throughout the world. The way things are in book publishing may be judged from the following figures: only 107 titles published during the time of the reign of Zakhir-shah, and 849 books in 33 million copies printed in the last five years alone.

#### **FOLLOWING THE COURSE OF PEACE AND COOPERATION**

The DRA is consistently pursuing a policy of normalising the situation around Afghanistan by political means. Its initiatives focus on complete cessation of the intervention and the provision of guarantees precluding any other external interference in the Republic's internal affairs. Pakistan did not, however, take a constructive stand at the Geneva talks. In spite of our repeated proposals, Pakistan has not agreed to direct, open talks.

Afghanistan made an important step at Geneva. Through the mediation of the UN Secretary-General's personal representative Diego Cordovez, we informed the Pakistani side of the contents of a draft document on the principles of mutual relations, including the presence of a limited contingent of Soviet troops, but Pakistan took an even more inflexible stand and avoided answering.

One special foreign policy issue is that of the return of our compatriots, deceived by the enemies of the Revolution. They must be fully aware that the doors of their country are open to all of them. Let them ponder on the following: since the convocation of the Loya Djirga, almost 30,000 of those deceived by Western propaganda have given up their arms and are now taking part in the historical cause of building a new society in Afghanistan.

We call upon all countries that take a negative position toward the DRA to make an effort and to contribute to the creation of a favourable atmosphere for a political solution to the problem, and to give up discussing the so-called Afghan problem at forums of the UN and the nonaligned movement.

The Statement of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA and the documents of the 16th Plenum of the PDPA Central Committee underline that the DRA's foreign policy is aimed at strengthening universal peace and developing allround international cooperation, and is based on the principles of active and positive nonalignment and allround goodneighbourly and mutually beneficial relations with friendly countries. We put forward proposals for normalising the international situation on the principles of peaceful coexistence, common sense and good will.

For our people, friendship with the Soviet Union is not only a good historical tradition but also a vital, urgent political need. This friendship is a reliable guarantee of Afghanistan's territorial integrity, independence and national sovereignty as a free, peace-loving and nonaligned state. At the same time, this friendship is a source of our country's economic and technical development.

With the help of the Soviet Union, 201 economic projects have been completed or are under way in the Republic. Almost 75 per cent of the country's industrial output is produced by the public sector, built with Soviet assistance. This is all the more important because the capitalist countries and some international organisations have broken off their economic and technical aid to Afghanistan altogether.

The DRA's prestige, authority, and international recognition continue to grow with each passing year. It now maintains relations with 80 countries, while the PDPA has contacts with 135 fraternal communist, workers', revolutionary-democratic parties, and national liberation movements and organisations.

The Organisation for Peace, Solidarity and Friendship of the DRA (OPSF), which expresses the Afghan people's peace-loving aspirations, maintains solid ties with about 82 national movements for peace and solidarity. The OPSF is a member of different governmental and non-governmental organisations such as the UN, the World Peace Council, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation, and the Organisation of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Societies of Friendship with the DRA, which are active in Britain, West Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Finland and Japan, play an important role, inter alia, in publicising the gains of the April Revolution and exposing the slanderous campaign launched by the Western propaganda machine. ■

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### TUNISIAN SUCCESSES, PROBLEMS VIEWED ON 30TH ANNIVERSARY

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 4, Jul-Aug 86 pp 26-30

[Article by Hikhail Pavlov: "Tunisia--Concerns and Expectations"]

[Text]

On March 20, 1986, the Tunisian Republic marked its 30th anniversary. Tunisia today has the same political institutions, the ruling party and leader as it had on the day of its liberation from colonialism—a remarkable record of stability unmatched in the turbulent Afro-Arab world! This fact has been broadly publicised, but it should not be accepted at face value. Stereotyped judgements are always oversimplified. In reality, Tunisia, formerly dominated by French capital and a European minority, has covered a complex development path, passing through many contradictions, and has changed considerably.

Those interested in the period of Tunisia's independent development will find facts and figures on all aspects of Tunisian life, arranged chronologically in reference books, text-books, and monographs. These notes reflect on some events and phenomena mostly political, that I witnessed in Tunisia in the late 1970s and early 1980s, when working as the Tunisia correspondent for *Asia and Africa Today*.

\* \* \*

In "official" conversations with foreigners, Tunisians make it a point to stress the unquestionable successes scored by their nation's construction efforts, such as the fact that, for a good few years now, about 30 per cent of the government's annual budget has been allocated to education. Schooling is not compulsory, but almost 90 per cent of youngsters attend. A fifth of Tunisia's adult population consists of college students, while teachers and instructors make up a third of the able-bodied population. These figures are something to be proud of.

The general impression is spoilt by the fact that many secondary-school-leavers and college gradua-

tes are unable to find work to suit their training, and some fail to find a job at all. So, according to the official statistics, unemployed Tunisians now total 350,000 (in a country with a population of just over 7,000,000), and their numbers are growing. The government plans to create 40,000 to 50,000 new jobs annually, but even if these plans are implemented, the problem will not be solved in the foreseeable future. Most jobless Tunisians are under 25 years of age, and the current employment situation is killing their last hopes, giving rise to protests that have shaken the regime's foundations more than once. They say in Tunisia that "an illiterate jobless man is a poor devil, while an unemployed person with a college education is a wolf".

The government's concessions to foreign business, intended to attract capital to Tunisia, the precarious nature of tourism, the EEC's discrimination against Tunisian exports of agricultural produce, and the rapid slump in oil prices—all these factors have served to make unemployment a chronic disease. Emigration to Western Europe and Libya has provided only temporary relief. Consider also Tunisia's huge external debt, permanently passive balance of payments, inflation, housing shortage, and other problems, and you will understand the gravity of the country's economic position.

The late 1970s saw a sharp aggravation of Tunisia's internal situation. The Tunisian General Union of Labour (l'Union Générale Tunisienne du Travail—UGTT) grew in strength and challenged the government's economic policy for the first time, demanding better working and living conditions, higher pay for workers, and an end to corruption and the "capitalist class of functionaries". On January 27, 1978 a general strike was declared. It was harshly put down, with more than 150 deaths reported. The government's subsequent attempts to resume relations with the UGTT did not yield the hoped for results, but caused a crisis and split in the union movement, which has not yet been completely overcome.

The Tunisian government, then headed by Prime Minister Nuira, made a few peace-making gestures but failed to ease the high social tensions, and this led, as was plainly indicated by the French paper *Le Monde* and the Paris-based *Jeune Afrique*, to an armed uprising in January 1980. (That revolt, known as the "Gafsa events", takes its name from Gafsa, a town in the South of Tunisia). The regime withstood the blow and claimed that the uprising was inspired by certain external influences. The organisers and activists of the revolt were hanged and many others sentenced to various terms of imprisonment or hard labour.

The revolt was soon followed by Prime Minister Nuira's illness, which gave the Tunisian leaders a good opportunity to outline a movement towards

change (the press termed it the "Tunisian spring"). In April 1980, Mohammed Mzali became Prime Minister and immediately introduced a pay raise, special price-control measures, and a course towards an "open dialogue" with all strata of Tunisian society. Virtually all political prisoners were released. The Destourian Socialist Party (le Parti socialiste Destourien—PSD), the General Secretary of which is Mohammed Mzali, started combatting red tape and abuses of position in its own ranks.

July 5, 1981, was memorable for many: it was announced on the TV news that the government had issued permission to the Tunisian Communist Party (le Parti Communiste Tunisien—PCT) to publish its paper *Al-Tariq al-Jadid*. That was the first mention of the PCT and its General Secretary Mouhammed Harmel since the ban on the party's activities in 1963. The PCT then issued a statement saying that the paper would promote the interests of the working class, peasantry, and young people and become a publication of the nation's forces working for Tunisia's advance along the path of democracy and progress. Some time later the Communist Party itself was legalised, but even now it still faces a lot of difficulties. The party's newspaper is constantly being attacked by the government press and it has been arrested several times. The party's political acts have been disrupted, and many times Communists have faced unjustified charges and persecution. Yet, despite all the impediments, the PCT, as Mouhammed Harmel puts it, "is not a detached on-looker, but an active participant in the events around it".

Apart from the PCT, a few other groups have won *de facto* recognition and operate legally in Tunisia. They are: the Movement of Democrats-Socialists (le Mouvement des Démocrates Socialistes—MDS), the Movement of Popular Unity (le Mouvement de l'Unité Populaire—MUP), and the Movement of the Islamic Tendency. The political principles of the MDS and the MUP are largely the same as those of the PSD. The two movements' leaders and most members are former Destourians, who left the ruling party because of various disagreements. The Movement of the Islamic Tendency has certain special features, which will be discussed at some length below. Besides, there are various opposition groups operating illegally both in and outside Tunisia. All three movements have been trying, so far unsuccessfully, to obtain party status. To be recognised as parties, the movements needed to get more than five per cent of the votes in the November 1981 parliamentary election (to the Chamber of Deputies), but they failed to procure this support.

A lot was expected from the elections. Never before had an opposition been permitted to run against the PSD candidates, nor to hold meetings

and rallies. Most amazing, spokesmen for opposition organisations were given an opportunity to speak on the radio and television, outlining their election programmes, so they were very enthusiastic about the election campaign. The attempt made by the PCT to unite the forces of the opposition found no support, however, while the PSD and its partners formed a "national front", comprised of the Tunisian Union of Industry, Trade and Craftsmanship, the National Union of Farmers, and the National Union of Tunisian Women. This was natural: these organisations were set up by the PSD and are headed by members of its Politburo. The Front was also joined, by the Tunisian General Union of Labour, and this caused bewilderment and criticism from its local members, a large number of syndicalists, and broad layers of the Tunisian population. We shall not analyse in detail the factors that caused the UGTT leadership to take this step, but we can say that the rank-and-file union members regarded it as a deal and a grave error in appraising the working people's aspirations.

Under these conditions, the "national front" won an outright victory, getting all 136 parliamentary seats, 27 of them for the UGTT. The opposition was left overboard. *Le Monde* and *Jeune Afrique* wrote about violations of election procedure; oppositionists told the press that the authorities resorted to pressure and threats to make people vote for the "red ballots" (i. e., for the "national front") and cited instances of the miscounting of votes. The leader of the Movement of Democrats-Socialists, Ahmed Mestiri, then said, "Tunisia was ripe for democracy, the experiment could have been successful if it had not been compromised". Even the UGTT National Council issued a special resolution calling for an "inquiry into election-law violations" to "draw the line at all forms of falsification and violation of the established norms". During an interview with the French paper *Le Matin de Paris*, Prime Minister Mzali himself said that "incidents did take place and the election campaign could have proceeded with more tranquility". The opposition's demand for a revision of the election's results was, however, declined and none of the opposition groups made the five-per cent qualification.

One thing the public regarded as positive was the establishment of a union faction in parliament. The faction was too small, of course, to have a decisive effect on any vote, but parliamentary debates became more liberal. This was also helped by the abrogation of Article 109 of the election law, under which a member of parliament expelled from the PSD was automatically expelled from parliament—so, of course, liberally-minded Destourians had refrained from objectively expressing their attitude to government policy.

Despite certain "difficulties", it looked as if the process of liberalisation would go on, and so it did, in general terms, but the social and economic problems remained unresolved. Then came another explosion, the "bread riot" of January 1984.

It all began with the government's decision to cancel the subsidies that kept the prices of bread and grains stable: those subsidies ran into millions and the government's resources were quite modest. The prices of bread, groats, macaroni, and maize meal—the basic foodstuffs for most of Tunisian families—immediately jumped 80 to 120 per cent. The response came fast. People took to the streets, storming shops and stores, burning cars and Tunisian flags, shouting anti-government slogans. The police were there to face the rioters, and there was bloodshed once again. A state of emergency was declared all over Tunisia, with a curfew introduced and army units deployed. Peace was restored, however, only after President Habib Bourguiba cancelled the government's decision to raise prices. Examining the January events, *Jeune Afrique* ironically commented that there was no need to look for any "external factor". All the factors are internal: the demographic factor (despite a family-planning policy, Tunisia's population increases by 2.6 per cent a year), the economic factor (the obsolete methods of production are impeding production growth), and the sociological factor (more than fifty per cent of Tunisians live in rural communities).

A notable development in Tunisia is the rise in religious interest, especially the enhanced activities of the Movement of the Islamic Tendency. Bourguiba himself has always stood for Arab-Islamic "national individuality" of the Tunisian state and preservation of Islam as a "social culture". While emphasising Moslem values like faith in the dignity, improvement and solidarity of men, and proclaiming them as the fundamental principles of the nation's life, however, Bourguiba has also done much to replace Islamic institutions with secular leadership, moved the initiative to emancipate Tunisian women, provided a new interpretation of many religious dogmas to make them more compatible with the modernisation of society.

The Movement of the Islamic Tendency disagrees with a number of Bourguiba's propositions, sows distrust in the secularist state, demands freedom of religious cults, as guaranteed by Article I of the Constitution, and takes the slightest opportunity to criticise the government from conservative positions. The authorities are doing their best to suppress the Movement and even put its leaders in jail, despite the declared intention of encouraging political pluralism. But the Movement of the Islamic Tendency is obtaining increasing support from all malcontents—young people, the unemployed, and



the petty bourgeoisie. Islamic ideas are gaining ground even in the armed forces, which have always kept away from politics...

This shows just how much truth there is in the widespread view that there is peace and harmony in Tunisia.

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The thing that really does remain firm and unalterable is Tunisia's foreign policy. For certain historical and economic reasons, the newly-free nation chose a Western orientation, but this does not mean that Tunisia meekly submits to Western diktat and follows the imperialist course in its policies. For example, Habib Bourguiba, the organiser and leader of the Tunisian people's national liberation struggle, who is now the Republic's President for life, has experimented with socialising the means of production, despite objections from Tunisia's allies, above all the United States. When the US Ambassador came to protest against "Tunisia building communism with American money", Bourguiba expelled him from the country at once. The Destourian concept says that Tunisia's wish to stay in the Western camp does not exclude its absolute freedom of choice of the social development pattern that suits it best.

That freedom showed itself in the Tunisian leaders' "firm frankness" during conversations with Western leaders on some current problems, above all on a Middle-East settlement. A good illustration of this is provided by President Bourguiba's numerous visits to Washington where, in conversations with US Presidents Dwight Eisenhower, John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, and Richard Nixon, he spoke of the Palestinian problem in terms such as few of Arab leaders then dared. It can be argued that this was a long time ago, but the Western and Tunisian press had a lot to say about Prime Minister Mzali's visit to the United States in May 1982 and about the memorable dinner given in his honour by President Reagan. The papers then said that Reagan was stunned by Mzali's moderate but firm and clear-cut stand defending the legitimate right of the Palestinians to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent state.

Tunisia still maintains "privileged ties" with its former parent-state, France, which accounts for about 30 per cent of Tunisia's foreign trade (though the percentage of French capital in the Tunisian economy is decreasing). There are many age-old problems in Tunisian-French relations, like restrictions on exports of Tunisian textiles, olive oil, and citrus fruits and on emigration of Tunisians to France.

Even though the Tunisian leadership appreciates

US financial and economic assistance, it says reproachfully that American "gifts and aid provided on favourable terms" have never been substantial. Another cause for discontent is the excessive interest rates. For its part, Washington believes that Tunisia cannot claim any special favours, since its per capita GDP stands at more than \$1,000.

Military cooperation between the United States and Tunisia has grown considerably since 1980. The publication of Tunisia's legal opposition, the monthly *Démocratie*, once indicated that, as far back as the presidency of Dwight Eisenhower, the United States "had taken care" to protect the Destourian regime from excessively radical "external influences". The US President gave out recommendations to strengthen Bourguiba by providing him with prestigious weapons—tanks, armoured vehicles, other types of war technology, which would make him the strongest Arab leader in the Maghreb.

The Reagan Administration seems to worry a lot about Tunisia's future, too, so it has sharply increased its military credits to the Republic (from \$15 million in 1980 to 95 million in 1981), with which to purchase 12 F-5 aircraft and 54 M-60 tanks from the United States. When Prime Minister Mzali came to Washington, he was given assurances that, in 1983, Tunisia would receive \$140 million for purchasing surface-to-air missiles. Besides, Washington is providing Tunisia with transport aircraft, anti-tank rockets, and light artillery pieces, and trains officers for its armed forces.

Military cooperation between the two countries became regular when a mixed Tunisian-American military commission was set up in November 1981 to investigate various aspects of supplying American weapons for Tunisia in order to strengthen and modernise its armed forces, which, according to the Tunisian opposition press, would cost approximately \$450 million. Many experts and some Western publications believe that Washington seeks to tie Tunisia to NATO's southern flank and to make use of the country's strategic location in the Mediterranean. The United States has repeatedly claimed to be a "guarantor of Tunisia's security" and promised direct military support if requested by the Tunisian leadership. In exchange, Tunisia permits US warships to visit its seaports when they choose and US aircraft to use its runways. The Tunisian leadership has denied point-blank, however, the report by the Parisian bi-weekly *Afrique-Asie* alleging that there are US war bases on Tunisian territory.

Tunisia's rapprochement with the United States, especially in the military sphere, is causing concern and discontent among the Tunisian public. The monthly *Démocratie* indicated, for instance, that "American weapons may upset the delicate balance of internal forces in Tunisia... maintained for many

years by Bourguiba, and complicate the situation in the Maghreb". When US Vice-President George Bush visited Tunisia in September 1983, the General Secretary of the Tunisian Communist Party, Mouhammed Harmel, said that "the visit is like a provocation, since it is timed to coincide with the first anniversary of the massacre at Sabra and Shatila, for which the US responsibility is as evident as its hostility towards the Palestinian revolution, and its solidarity with Israel".

That "solidarity" was in evidence once again during Tel Aviv's recent act of terrorism, the bombing of the PLO's headquarters in Tunisia. The Israeli barbarous act resulted not only in material damage and casualties, but also moral and political damage to Tel-Aviv. The worldwide outrage was especially strong since Tunisia has never committed any aggression, strictly follows the principle of settling foreign-policy problems peacefully, has often acted as mediator in handling such problems, and hosts major international meetings, for which it has been called "the country of dialogue".

It was not mere chance that, after President Sadat of Egypt signed the capitulatory Camp David Agreement, the all-Arab summit decided to transfer the Arab League Headquarters from Cairo to Tunis. At their meeting in Fez in 1982, the Arab leaders earmarked \$30 million for a new building to house the headquarters. Work is now in progress, and there is every reason to believe that the building will be completed as planned, by August 1986. The French daily *Le Monde* has called the project "the construction of Arab unity", which is the goal of all Arab League members and its Secretary-General Ch. Clebey, a Tunisian, re-elected in 1984.

In general, Tunisian diplomacy plays a positive role in the fair Middle-East settlement, and in cooperation and goodneighbourly relations among all nations.

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At present, in the West as well as in Tunisia, there is a lot of speculation on what will happen to the country "after Bourguiba". Many experts believe that the aggravation of internal problems, the struggle for the presidency, waged for many years by various clans and becoming increasingly fierce because Bourguiba is old and may soon leave the Tunisian political scene—all this may lead "the military to reconsider their duty to the nation, in order to prevent anarchy and chaos".

The Tunisian government has been taking good care to ensure the "purity" of the army: the military are barred from elections, and have no right to engage in political activities, not even within the ruling Socialist Destourian Party. The armed forces have never taken part in political decision-making,

nor attempted any coups. They have been a tool of the civilian authorities, subordinate to a civilian Minister of Defence. On two occasions, in 1978 and 1984, the government used troops to "restore law and order" in the country. In both cases the military exercised control over the Ministry of the Interior and, on accomplishing their mission, returned to barracks.

In January 1984, army officers were placed in command of the national security service, national guard, and police, which are structurally organic to the Ministry of the Interior. *Jeune Afrique* then commented that Prime Minister Mohammed Mzali who is also Minister of the Interior, wanted to lean on "disciplined military men" in order to keep the regime alive.

According to the *American Middle East Journal*, the current developments in Tunisia indicate a crisis of the policy of the Socialist Destourian Party. It has become clear that the Western-type modernisation will not bring "universal national prosperity", which the Tunisian leaders have declared as their ultimate goal. Many Destourians feel their party's prestige needs restoring, so they are calling more and more loudly for structural reforms, a gradual democratisation of public life, a change in Tunisia's foreign policy, and a search for new sources of state revenue, so that the national economy might be revitalised and the acute social problems be solved.

Yet no matter what turn developments might take, few Tunisians see the fourth decade of their country's independence as placid. ■

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL PROGRESS SEEN AS IMPERIALIST WEAPON

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 4, Jul-Aug 86 pp 39-41

[Article by Cand. Sc. (Econ.) Boris Porfiryev]

[Text]

**A**t the present stage in mankind's development, scientific and technological progress has become a mighty factor transforming virtually all aspects of the life of society and accelerating socio-economic processes both in individual states and the world as a whole. This is of particular importance for developing countries, which cannot solve their key problems of overcoming backwardness and poverty, of raising the population's cultural standard, etc., within an historically acceptable time if they remain on the sidelines of the worldwide scientific and technological revolution.

#### A VITAL NECESSITY

The young states can hardly solve these problems themselves because of their low scientific and technical potential. Early in the 1980s, the developing countries accounted for only 12 per cent of all scientists and engineers in the world, who are engaged in research and development, and for only four per cent of world outlays to these ends.

They own about six per cent of the registered patents, a mere one per cent of them being controlled by national bodies;

account for three to four per cent of world machinery and equipment exports but for 30 per cent of their imports.

The limited scope of national scientific and technical possibilities determines the emergent countries' dependence on an inflow of scientific and technical accomplishments. On the whole their purchases of licenses, know-how, machinery and equipment grew from \$13 billion in 1965 to \$154 billion in 1980. If these states' payments for various engineering services are added, the sum total of their expenditures on purchasing foreign scientific and technical experience in its various forms was about \$200 billion in 1980, or 15 per cent of their GNP.

So, although the development strategy of the young states for the 1980s sets the formation and strengthening of national scientific and technical potentials (this being achieved so far with great difficulty and at the cost of considerable time and money) as one of the most important tasks, under the given conditions these countries are forced to rely mostly on imported achievements of modern science and technology from developed states.

Early in the 1980s, transnational corporations accounted for more than four-fifths of the newly-independent states' imports of technology, with US TNCs accounting for about two-thirds. As a result, it is in the scientific sphere that the developing countries are most dependent on the industrial capitalist countries and their TNCs, above all on US monopolies, compared to the other sectors of the economy. "Taking advantage of the economic and technological dependence of the newly-free countries and their unequal status in the world capitalist economy, imperialism mercilessly exploits them. It is exacting tributes that run into billions of dollars, and which are exhausting the economies of those states", notes the new edition of the CPSU Programme.

From the standpoint of political economy, it is proper to regard "technological imperialism" as a variety of neocolonialism in the sphere of science and technology not limited just to that of the technological exchange between newly-free and developed capitalist states.

Such imperialist policy pursues a dual aim: on the one hand, to strengthen state monopoly capitalism in the centres of the world capitalist system at the expense of the newly-free countries and, on the other, to create additional difficulties for the latter in their advance towards independence. These interconnected aims of a long-term, strategic nature predetermine the two main directions in the pursuance of the policy of "technological imperialism", which we shall now consider.

#### EXPORT OF TECHNOLOGY: THE TNC AS BOTH PROVIDER AND RECIPIENT

Deliveries of technology to the young states by developed capitalist countries, above all by their TNCs, form one of these di-

rections, but the way the TNCs are carrying this out is nothing but a cunningly camouflaged system of exploitation and deception of the young states.

First, the overwhelming part of the technology from Western countries is sent by TNC parent companies to their subsidiaries in young states. According to various estimates, intra-corporate deliveries account for 75 to 85 per cent of the value of total transfers of technology to developing countries, whereas sales to independent companies of these states amount, at best, to only a quarter of the above volume. This limits the technical modernisation of the newly-free countries' national industries to the narrow sector of the subsidiaries of Western TNCs, which are only very loosely integrated with the local reproduction process.

All this throws a totally different light on such an indicator as the sum of payments made by the newly-free states for the technology they receive from the TNCs—an indicator that bourgeois economists, by the way, use to illustrate the "growing" technological assistance to developing countries. Yet taken by itself, without identifying the ultimate user of the technology in newly-free countries, it only camouflages the true, selfish aims of the international monopolies. The technological "assistance" to the newly-free states thus advertised serves, quite obviously, the aims of their independent economic, scientific and technical development only in a very limited way.

Second, the TNCs accompany the sale of technology to developing countries with all sorts of restrictive business practice. Let us dwell only on the socio-economic consequences of their application in the emergent states. One is the artificial ballooning of these states' outlays on technology imports as a result

of the jacking up of license payments and also the constant growth of so-called obligatory purchases (the technology purchaser's commitment to buy the materials and equipment listed in the contract solely from the licensor). Developing countries also suffer considerable losses because transnational corporations inflate the prices of products bearing the firm's trade mark above all medicines, the increase being three- or four-fold, and, even, at times 60-fold.

According to UNCTAD estimates, the extra payments by the young states just for importing licences, know-how and stipulated supplies from countries belonging to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) amounted to \$20-40 billion in the late 1970s. This seriously depletes the newly-free countries' already limited financial resources and reduces the possibility of accumulating the resources required for accelerating their economic, scientific and technical growth.

In addition, the TNCs' application of restrictive terms for the use of license agreements, patent rights and trade marks in developing countries greatly hampers the vitally important process of their industrialisation and economic decolonisation.

Third, the TNCs take advantage of the insufficient technical knowledge of the employees of the technology-purchasing firms and agencies in developing countries, to sell them technologies that, quite often, do not comply with the young states' most pressing requirements. For example, licenses are sold and enterprises are built intended to produce consumer goods for the élite (cars, expensive beverages, etc.).

The technology supplied by the TNCs to newly-emergent countries has been developed in imperialist states and reflects the organic and technical structure

of capital in an advanced economy: in many instances it is excessively capital-intensive and too sophisticated for local specialists.

The TNCs also build in developing countries enterprises that employ obsolete technological processes in order to save on their costs, specially on ecological monitoring measures. This is eloquently illustrated by the tragedy that occurred late in 1984 in the Indian town of Bhopal where a leakage of a toxic agent at an enterprise belonging to a subsidiary of Union Carbide, an American TNC, cost thousands of local residents their lives or health. It is indicative that, at its enterprise in Woodbine, Georgia, Union Carbide has long since abandoned the technology for producing this particular chemical for considerations of ecological safety.

Now the managers of TNCs are trying to use the tragedy in Bhopal to blackmail developing countries by scaring them with a possible refusal to sell technology. "I think the transnationals of Japan, Western Europe and the United States should think again whether they should continue to deliver modern [?—B. P.] technology to developing countries."

It is obvious, however, that the newly-free countries need to import technology, including modern one, but its deliveries and use should not go against the interests of those countries' national development.

#### ENRICHMENT BY PLUNDER

The aim of the other strategic direction in the policy of "technological imperialism" is to strengthen the economic base of the leading capitalist states plundering the scientific and technical potential of developing countries, primarily by luring away their skilled personnel. In his interview for the American

Time magazine Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke of the USA's desire to gain access to high technology by all possible means and particularly stressed the use of specific methods, such as the brain drain from the newly-independent states.

Some 400,000-500,000 qualified experts from young states were employed in developed capitalist countries early in the 1980s, this figure constituting about a third of the total number of scientists, engineers and doctors now working in all the newly-independent countries. This is 10 times more than the number of specialists who initiated all the scientific and technical transformations in the now industrially developed countries at the end of the 19th century. In the United States alone there are now nearly 100,000 Arab specialists, among them 25,000 holding doctorates in medicine.

The brain drain from the developing countries is great both absolutely and relatively. According to UNCTAD, from 20 to 70 per cent of the specialists from young states graduating annually do not return home.

T. Zahlan, a Lebanese expert on the problems of the brain drain, notes that "the exodus of specialists from developing countries takes place precisely in the fields for which these states import foreign [technological.—B. P.] experience". So there exists a mechanism for the dual plunder of developing countries by methods of scientific and technical neocolonialism. On the one hand, by luring skilled specialists away from these countries, considerable sums are saved on training specialists in the citadels of imperialism. According to existing estimates, the Western countries made a profit of some \$30 billion on luring specialists in the 1980s. As a result, however, the developing

countries suffered a loss of more than \$20 billion (in 1982 prices). On the other hand, the shortage of specialists in the young states resulting from this practice is "compensated" for by technology sold to them by the TNCs at a monopoly high price, this providing the corporations with profits measured in billions.

There exists yet another specific form of plunder of developing countries—that of their gene stock of seeds, above all of food crops. According to the most modest estimates, these countries are the habitat of at least two-thirds of the Earth's main food crops, but they control only 28 per cent of the world gene stock of cereals, whereas the corresponding figure for the developed capitalist states exceeds 40 per cent. The TNCs control two-thirds of the grade seeds of bananas and more than half the natural rubber (hevea). Of the almost 1,800 state and private firms engaged in the seed trade in the non-socialist world, 500 are subsidiaries of TNCs, while another 300 have binding contracts with them.

The TNCs get most of their seeds from the countries in which those seeds grow. Thus, farmers in the Northwest of the United States use varieties of wheat grown from seeds brought from Turkey some 15 years ago. As a result, they have managed to reduce sharply losses from stalk rust and save at least three million dollars annually. In the late 1970s, the profits of the 16 leading TNCs trading in hybrid seeds evolved on the basis of local sorts of food crop, that had been taken free of charge from developing countries (to put it bluntly, stolen from them), reached \$3.4 billion.

The TNCs also make just as much profit from importing the seeds of medicinal herbs from developing countries. According to data published by the well-known West German concern



Bayer, herbs account for 40 per cent of the initial products for the pharmaceutical industry in Western countries and for up to 90 per cent in the production of antibiotics and tranquilisers. The medicines are then sold in developing countries at a very high price.

The young states' total losses as a consequence of TNC activities amount to billions of dollars.

This form of "technological imperialism" is fraught with a special danger for the newly-independent countries in that it limits their prospects for further development of the "green revolution" there on a local material (biological) basis and reduces the scope for future local studies in the field of genetic engineering. This may constitute a serious obstacle to the solution of the vitally important food problem in the young states. Last but not least, tangible ecological damage is inflicted on them by the impoverishment of the national gene stock of plants and their replacement with hybrids that are not usually suited to local natural conditions.

Such, evidently, are the main problems facing the emergent states as a result of the policy of "technological imperialism". The last decade had witnessed a certain intensification of the developing countries' counteraction to the most odious forms of this policy (for instance, restrictions imposed on the activities of the TNCs) above all in the context of the struggle to establish a new international economic order. Their efforts in this field (in particular in UNCTAD and other United Nations agencies) have the vigorous support of socialist countries, in particular the Soviet Union, which pursue a technological policy in relation to the developing countries that differs fundamentally from that of the developed capitalist states. The scientific, technical and economic cooperation of the USSR and other CMEA countries with the young states has always been based on the principles of equality and mutual advantage of the sides and will continue to be so. ■

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### EMPLOYMENT QUESTION IN ASIAN COUNTRIES ANALYZED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 4, Jul-Aug 86 pp 53-56

[Article by Cand. Sc. (Econ.) Nikolai Markov]

[Text]

Capitalist modernisation of the economy in some newly-free countries of South and Southeast Asia has been accompanied, on the one hand, by development of the productive forces and, on the other, by a growth of regional inequality, a decline in many traditional industries, proletarianisation of small owners and, as a result, aggravation of the unemployment problem.

The worsening of this problem is largely connected with the economic disorders that have afflicted the world capitalist system in recent decades, such as the energy crisis and cyclical slumps in the chief imperialist states, which have led to a sharp deterioration of the monetary situation in the majority of Asian countries in the 1980s. Many of them have had to cut back state investment and outlays on public-works programmes and to introduce additional import restrictions.

A major contradiction in the development of newly-free states is linked with the fact that it is taking place during the scientific and technological revolution which, being an objective worldwide economic process, makes a universal demand for a change in the productive forces. The introduction of microelectronic technology paves the way for more extensive use of automation and reduces the labour intensity of modern production. At the same time, most countries under discussion are characterised by highly dynamic population processes. As a result, the gap between the supply of and demand for labour resources is ever more widening.

During the 1970s, most states in the region showed a growth rate of jobs somewhat higher than that of the gainfully employed population, yet this did not prevent a further increase in the number of fully and partially unemployed. In our

estimate, during this period the number went up by 30 to 40 million and, by the early 1980s, reached 180-200 million.

Despite a relatively high rate of industrial construction, in the 1970s the modern sector in the newly-free countries of Asia could absorb only a small part of the increment in the work force. As before, the bulk of this increment settled in the traditional sector of the economy like small industries and handicrafts, services and agriculture. In India, for example, about two-thirds of all young people were obliged to seek means of subsistence in the traditional urban sector and in the countryside. In other words, only a comparatively small part of the gainfully employed population was made up of wage-workers. The lion's share of the work force was concentrated on rural holdings. Thus, in the 1970s, despite the sliding share of the agrarian sector in total employment of most states of the region, the absolute numbers of agricultural population continued to grow. In the early 1980s, it accounted for over a half of labour resources.

As already stated, the unemployment problem has been partly compounded by population factors. Despite the fall in the rate of natural population increment from 2.3 per cent in the 1960s to 1.9 per cent in the 1970s, the growth rate of the work force (because of the "population boom" during the previous decade) showed an increase. Over the past decade it went up in most states of the region, excluding Afghanistan and Bangladesh, and varied from 1.7 to 3.6 per cent<sup>1</sup>. Over the same period, the gainfully employed population continued to increase on average by 10 to 14 million a year<sup>2</sup>. If this trend persists, in order to provide employment for young people joining the work force, Asian countries will have to create 300 million new jobs between 1980 and the year 2000.

The fulfilment of this truly mammoth task is complicated by a number of factors, including structural shifts under way in the economies of Asian countries. The point is that, over the past 10-15 years, many of them have passed the extensive phase of industrialisation when industries working for the mass consumer and demanding great labour force are created, as well as related branches of the infrastructure. At present, their industrial structure needs a higher share of rather capital-intensive branches.

<sup>1</sup> ESCAP, *Economic and Social Survey, Op. cit.*, 1979, Bangkok 1980, Tab. 15, p. 94, Tab. 16, p. 95, 1982, Bangkok 1983, Tab. 1, 35, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Estimated on the basis of ESCAP, *Economic and Social Survey, Op. cit.*, 1978, Bangkok, 1979, Tab. 50, p. 101.

This tendency has been demonstrated especially clearly by such active exporters of industrial commodities as Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong and South Korea. Because of the deteriorating situation on the world markets for their labour-intensive products (toys, clothes, textiles, footwear, the simplest electronic appliances) these countries have begun to mount accelerated production and export of high-technology industrial commodities from the second half of the 1970s. The ships, steel, separate blocks or parts of computers, medical devices, etc., enjoy a high and relatively stable demand on world markets and their production requires, as a rule, a smaller input of live labour than the simplest consumer goods do. This, naturally, slows down the growth of industrial employment.

Substantial shifts have also taken place in the economic structures of the rich oil-exporting countries of the Persian Gulf, which, by the early 1980s, had almost finished the construction of their social and production infrastructures. The main objective of their strategy now is to create capital-intensive industries, above all branches of the petrochemical complex, which is bound to limit these countries' needs for imported unskilled labour, coming, in particular, from South and Southeast Asia and, conversely, to increase the demand for highly qualified and experienced personnel, which are badly needed by the labour-exporting countries, too.

It should be stressed that many Asian developing countries (Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, the Philippines) had, by the early 1980s, largely exhausted the possibility of expanding their arable land. Agriculture, a "reservoir" absorbing the lion's share of the able-bodied people increment, is beginning to spill over, so its capacity increasingly depends on the growth of investment in the technical and economic reconstruction of the countryside, and on serious institutional and social transformations, above all radical agrarian reforms. In this connection, special importance attaches to the task of shifting a part of surplus labour resources from rural areas to the industrial sector.

In the meantime, some fresh trends in the world capitalist economy that came to light in the late 1970s and early 1980s set additional limitations on the countries attempting to enlarge employment by exporting labour-intensive commodities. Let us mention some of these limitations.

First, the use of microprocessors, robots and other means of automation that substantially raise labour productivity in light industry, does not induce developed capitalist countries to move these branches to the periphery.

Second, China's growing exports of labour-intensive commodities, coupled with the increasing

number of exporters from various parts of the developing world, not only intensify competition on world markets, but also raise outlays entailed by an export-oriented policy (the latter also being affected by the mounting price of international credit, which seems to become long-term in nature).

Third, the deceleration of economic growth expected to take place within the next 10-20 years in the industrialised capitalist states (combined with shifts in the structure of consumption) will tend to reduce their demand for many industrial consumer goods.

Fourth, as a result of the capitalist countries' protectionist policy, which also seems to be long-term, the conditions for marketing labour-intensive commodities will deteriorate. Thus, the problem of making gainful use of labour resources during the 1980s acquires special topicality and acuteness for the young states of Asia. The task of giving jobs to the accumulated unemployed and creating a great number of jobs for young people demands that the state take vigorous steps in this direction.

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During the 1970s and early 1980s, certain shifts occurred in employment policy, which may be summarised as follows. While still viewing employment as a function of capital accumulation or of the rate of economic growth, the developing countries of Asia have begun to pay more attention to the structural aspects of reproduction and capital formation. They aim, in particular, to choose a technological, branch and geographic structure of investments that would enhance the labour intensity of the economy and ensure dynamic rates of economic growth.

New objectives have been given priority in employment policy. Its focus has been shifted from expanding employment in the modern sector to increasing possibilities for "self-employment" in the traditional sectors, from increasing the number of jobs in the urban (industrial) sector to stimulating employment in agriculture. At present, the economic policy of the young states of the region is more cognizant than before of the interconnection between the problems of employment and those of poverty, income redistribution and raising the productivity of traditional labour. More attention is being focused on raising the productivity of small holdings, developing backward regions, the social and production infrastructure in rural areas.

In parallel, a number of young states have undertaken renewed efforts to make industry more labour-intensive. In particular, they have stopped credit and fiscal privileges to capital-intensive methods of production and introduced incentives to

small factories and handicrafts. Thus, India's 5th Five-Year Plan envisaged a trebling of investment in rural handicrafts and small urban industries.

Some states of the region have introduced additional customs, fiscal and financial privileges to boost small-scale production. These industries have been guaranteed bank credits, raw material supplies at controlled prices, extensive assistance in technology, exploitation, management and marketing, favourable terms for imports of complete plant, etc. For example, during the 1970s Indonesia lowered taxes on tobacco goods produced by local small factories. In the Philippines, family enterprises registered with the National Agency for Handicrafts Development, received credit on favourable terms, as well as privileges when purchasing industrial goods and selling their own. Besides, these enterprises were exempted from the legislation setting minimum wages.

In order to reduce the competition between small and big industries, some countries of Asia have reserved certain spheres of industrial activity for small factories.

To weaken incentives to capital-intensive methods of production, Bangladesh, Pakistan, the Philippines and Sri Lanka have increased the rate of interest on borrowed capital. Certain countries have introduced various privileges encouraging labour-intensive industries and capital-saving technology. Indonesia, in particular, "favours intensive industries with an additional year of tax holiday if the new investment creates more than 2,000 jobs and has a capital-labour ratio of less than \$5,000"<sup>3</sup>. India also has reviewed the role of tax privileges in expanding employment, and strengthened certain incentives to capital-intensive technology.

Labour-intensive export-oriented production is an important and relatively new means of stimulating industrial employment. In this connection, mention should be made of the so-called free trade zones created for private foreign factories specialising in the export and re-export of labour-intensive goods, particularly textiles, footwear, electronic consumer goods, etc.

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During the 1970s, considerable attention was paid to expansion and improvement of employment in the traditional sectors of town and especially the countryside. To cope with this task, they

<sup>3</sup> ESCAP, *Economic Survey, Op. cit.*, Bangkok 1983, p. 149.

raised the productivity of small and very small holdings and introduced additional tax incentives, provided wider access to bank credit, the transport and social infrastructure, technical and agricultural services, supplies of fuel, raw materials, fertilizer and high-quality seeds. The introduction of programmes for comprehensive development of rural areas, such as Kabupaten in Indonesia, Tambon in Thailand, and various programmes in Bangladesh and India, raised hopes for higher levels of employment and a better "quality of life" for the poorest strata in the village. It also gave hopes for higher productivity of peasant holdings through the development of production and social infrastructures: land conservation, restoration of forests, land improvement, construction of motor-road networks, of cheap housing and schools in the countryside, water supply, etc. As a result of the land reform and redistribution, the situation of tenants, small holders and landless peasants has improved in a number of Asian countries.

Even though most of these programmes could not change the employment situation radically (jobs were given for a relatively short time), they did provide temporary employment for an impressive number of people. In India, for example, at least one million jobs a year were created by the Extraordinary Scheme for Rural Employment. Another Indian programme, the Scheme for Guaranteed Employment, adopted in the state of Maharashtra and known worldwide (it absorbed about 10 per cent of the state government's expenditure) provided jobs for about 800,000 people.

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On the whole, measures to stimulate employment in the countries with capitalist economies have been rather contradictory. On the one hand, the governments take steps to create new jobs, on the other, they use numerous incentives to boost private investment. These incentives, including credit on favourable terms, tax privileges, accelerated depreciation, artificially lower the market cost of capital resources, promote the use of capital-intensive methods of production and thus slow down the growth of employment. The said incentives result, in practice, not in a growth of private investment, but in accelerated enrichment of capital owners and in growing inequality.

It is indicative that, in the countries where the level of subsidies (overt and covert) to private investors has been lowered substantially and where attention is focused on improving general economic conditions (through expansion of private credit with a simultaneous growth of interest rates, promotion of competition, etc.), production employment has increased markedly. It is likely that abolition of unjustifiably extensive privileges for private investors would not lower the level of

accumulation, but would undoubtedly have a positive effect on the structure of income distribution and the employment situation.

The contradictory nature of state capitalist employment policy is also manifested in the fact that a large part of the subsidies for hiring additional labour goes, in many cases, to big and medium-sized enterprises with a relatively high level of capital-intensive production. Besides, in a number of newly-free countries of Asia, expenditure on stimulating employment proves too high and too burdensome on the state budget. Leading, in the short term, to an increase in the number of jobs, state policy also tends to slow down modernisation of production and maintains enterprises with a low profitability. As a result, the growth of labour productivity in the national economy as a whole slows down and the long-term solution of the employment problem becomes even more difficult. In India, for example, the annual expenditure on subsidising full employment of one person at the expense of share discount has reached, in the sugar refineries, 880 rupees and, in the handicraft sector of the watch industry, almost 2,700 rupees. It is possible that, in some cases, it is preferable not to subsidise employment at unprofitable enterprises, but to use equivalent sums to train or re-train qualified personnel, and to invest funds in structural changes that would enhance the economy's labour capacity in the future.

The results of public-works programmes in rural areas have been equally contradictory. Of course, these programmes embrace great numbers of people and provide important relief for the rural poor—small holders, small tenants, farmhands. The gains of these strata of the population are, as a rule, short-term and much smaller in size than the long-term gains of the owners of big and medium production farms, obtained as a result of land improvement and production infrastructure development. Moreover, the more unfair is land distribution, the more irregular are the gains from public-works programmes. Thus, according to the World Bank as a result of the programme of rural public works in Bangladesh, the profits of landowners from land improvement were almost 400 per cent higher than the incomes of workers engaged under the programme.

Rural public-works programmes stimulate higher land prices, raise the productivity of capitalist farms and promote stratification among peasants. True, some countries of the region have tried to minimise the gains of landowners from land conservation and improvement. In part, they have attempted to raise the level and progressiveness of taxes on land property, but, perhaps with the exception of the Scheme of Guaranteed Employment in the Indian state of Maharashtra, this has failed to produce any positive results.



So the solution of the unemployment issue is inseparable from profound social transformations, above all in the realm of property. This will also greatly affect the outcome of income redistribution measures. Quite a potential for increasing the number of new jobs and improving the life of the poor is contained in rural transformations aimed at more equitable distribution of land and water resources, as well as at improving the conditions of small tenants and farmhands. In other words, a radical solution of the unemployment problem calls for changes that go beyond partial reforms. Only a serious remodelling of the economic and social structures, which slow down economic development and social progress, can put an end to dire poverty, hunger and unemployment.

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### U.S. 'PROPAGANDA WAR' DISINFORMATION ASSAILED

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[Article by Cand. Sc. (Hist.) Nikolai Yermoshkin; "Ideological Expansion of Imperialism"]

[Text]

The new edition of the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union concentrates on the great damage inflicted on the people's inner world by the anti-humane ideology of modern capitalism and the pernicious part played by the bourgeois mass media. The gigantic Western propaganda machine is going out of its way to smear the policy and practice of the states of the socialist community in relation to the developing world, to discredit the doctrine of non-capitalist development, to falsify the processes of progressive transformations in the newly-free countries, and to distort the essence of the nonaligned movement. In the first half of the 1980s, the ideological subversions by imperialism against Asian, African and Latin American states already assumed the nature of "psychological warfare" elevated, particularly by the United States, to the level of state policy.

#### THE TARGETS CHOSEN BY MISINFORMERS

The United States Information Agency (USIA), an official body of the US administration, has been playing the key role in the ramified network of Western propaganda organisations. Former US President John Kennedy once set the USIA the task of depicting the USA everywhere as a democratic, strong and dynamic country, called on to guide the whole world in its drive towards the common goal, and also of frustrating all kinds of hostile attempts to stand in the way of the achievement of the United States' goals and policies.

The current master of the White House is no longer satisfied with this. Acting in the interests of extreme right-wing political quarters and Big Business linked with the US military-industrial complex, President Ronald Reagan has declared a "crusade"

against communism, social progress and national liberation movements. The notorious "programme for democracy and public diplomacy", which provides for broader ideological subversions against progressive states and for active interference in their internal affairs, has become part and parcel of that policy. The latter's main task is to camouflage Washington's striving for world hegemony, to create the impression that the crazy arms race is a normal phenomenon, that military force is the only political weapon, and that chauvinism and racism are inevitable in international relations.

Any area of the world where peoples are struggling for liberation, immediately becomes a target for the misinformers. For example, after the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorial regime, Washington's official propaganda launched an offensive against Nicaragua. The Voice of America spread a concoction to the effect that over three thousand of Somoza's former national guardsmen had been shot in Managua, together with their families. The Nicaraguan *Barricada* stressed that these fabrications were prepared by numerous Washington experts on "psychological warfare". It was the reports of foreign correspondents—eyewitnesses to the developments in Nicaragua—that helped disclose this inspired campaign.

Misinformation and manipulation of the facts in connection with the developments in Nicaragua are nothing but repetition of methods that have long been used by the American propaganda machine. It is apt to mention that the biggest military adventure in the history of the USA—its aggression against the DRV—started with the cooked-up fraud concerning an "attack by North Vietnamese launchers" against US ships in the Gulf of Tonkin. A similarly far-fetched pretext was used for the aggression against Grenada. In other words, in our day and age imperialism is increasingly active in combining "gunboat diplomacy" with terroristic and ideological subversive activities.

For example, the US mass media are rather "flexible" in describing the developments in Lebanon. They write about the "war in Lebanon", rather than about Israeli aggression, passing over Washington's political responsibility for Tel Aviv's actions in silence, hiding it behind a screen of verbiage about the "strategic alliance" between Washington and Tel Aviv.

The attempts to furnish a distorted image of the true course of events are combined with blatant and shameless lies. The scandalous story about Christopher Johnes, a US journalist, whose article "On the Land of Khmers Rouge" carried by *The New York Times* was devoted to his one-month stay in Kampuchea among the Pol Pot gangs and his personal participation in their inroads is worth mentioning. The author provided a vivid description of

their "feats". In actual fact, he did not go further than Switzerland and his dirty "essay" was invented from start to finish.

ched by the bourgeois mass media in connection

A large-scale propaganda campaign was launched with the situation in Afghanistan and around it. Having unleashed an undeclared war against democratic Afghanistan, the imperialist powers, especially the USA, decided to erect a solid wall of misinformation around that country. While doing everything possible to prevent objective information about Afghanistan from being published in the world press, imperialist propaganda has been spreading fabrications about the DRA, frequently referring to "eyewitness" accounts by travellers and diplomats whose names are never mentioned. If all figures published by the Western press during the recent years on losses sustained by the revolutionary forces of Afghanistan were summed, it would turn out that the whole population there had been killed twice and all the country's armed forces had been destroyed five times. The volume of the propaganda spearheaded against the people and government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has increased 30 fold during the past five years. Over 50 radio stations are transmitting a total of over 110 hours of subversive broadcasts a day in the various languages spoken by the peoples of Afghanistan.

#### THE PROPAGANDA "ITCH" OF THE CIA

The imperialist intelligence services have always had a particular interest in the mass media. The profession of journalist provides a suitable "cover" for spies, giving them the right to travel all over the world and providing them with legal access to information sources, simplifying meetings with the people they need, and granting them broad opportunities for manipulating public opinion in their own and other countries.

Only a few people know that the US Central Intelligence Agency allocates more money for spreading misinformation than for fact-finding: over a third of its budget is spent on the "distribution of information", i. e., on the spreading of falsehoods, slanderous reports and diverse concoctions. The New York Times, a well informed US paper, admits that, in its striving to shape public opinion, the CIA relies on a ramified network of papers, information services, magazines, publishing houses, and radio stations. The "worldwide propaganda network under the CIA" (this is what the paper mildly called the mass media that have sold themselves to US intelligence) in different years included up to 800 information services, organisations and private individuals. In some cases, the CIA merely establishes a magazine, news agency or radio station, paying all

the expenses through dummies or a fictitious corporation. In other cases, it purchases a newspaper or publishing house in financial difficulties. Even so, preference is given to operating bodies of information because, as a rule, this is a cheaper and more reliable method.

The story about the subversive radio station, The Voice of Free Asia, is a case in point. It was set up in 1968 near Bangkok completely on American money and was later transferred to Thailand for a symbolic payment of one baht. The staff of the radio station still consists of personnel selected by the US Intelligence Agency. The material comes mainly from the CIA Headquarters. The Voice of Free Africa was set up under a similar scheme and with the participation of the South African racists.

At present, the CIA has over forty subversive radio stations throughout the world, each of them having its own role to play. Some of them are smearing the progressive changes in Afghanistan, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea; others are doing their best to undermine the unity of Arab countries; yet others are seeking to compromise the policies pursued by the leaders of the national liberation movements in Africa, and all of them together are slandering the world socialist system, spreading tales about the "Soviet military threat", the ubiquitous "hand of Moscow", and so on and so forth.

Overall, US radio broadcasts are retransmitted by more than 5,000 radio stations in different parts of the world. US Congress has recently allocated about \$1 billion to modernise and build powerful transmitters in Spain, Portugal, some mid-East countries and Israel. The construction of a new radio station in Sri Lanka is nearing completion; a radio centre in Morocco is to be commissioned; affiliations of the CIA subversion centres, i. e., Radios Freedom and Free Europe, have appeared in Pakistan and Hong Kong. The recent annual report to the President and Congress by the American consultative commission on public diplomacy recommended the launching of a large-scale offensive against the socialist countries. The commission advises, among other things, that not only radio transmitters, but also all the mass media, from the press to television, be used.

#### WHO RULES THE ROOST

The expansion of the Western mass media in the developing countries is largely promoted by the latter's technological dependence on the TNCs producing printing equipment, paper, and radio and television apparatus and enjoying a monopoly position in publicity. The TNCs, these most avaricious monopolies of modern capitalism, are striving to gain control of the world's network of communications.

Here is a fact testifying to the sway of the TNCs: 75 per cent of all systems and means of information in the capitalist world are controlled by only a few leading corporations. Sometimes this leads to a paradoxical situation. For example, the two neighbouring African states, Zaire and Côte d'Ivoire, maintain mutual telephone communications via Paris; Kenya and Tanzania—via London, and Bolivia and Paraguay—via New York. There is a multitude of such examples. It is an open secret that the West spares no effort to preserve its control over the mass media of the newly-free countries. It is also common knowledge that the biggest Western agencies, including United Press International, Associated Press, Reuter and France Presse still serve as the main sources of information for them. These information TNCs provide 80 per cent of the news printed or transmitted by radio and TV in the capitalist world (45 million words daily).

France Presse enjoys a privileged status in French-speaking Africa, Reuter—in Asia and in English-speaking Africa, Associated Press and United Press International in Latin America and the Far East. In fact, their zones of influence actually coincide with the borders of the former colonial empires and with the current zones of economic and political interests of the USA, Britain and France. No wonder they strongly oppose any attempt by the newly-free countries to liberate themselves from dependence by setting up mass media of their own.

In many developing countries, the share of imported broadcasts sometimes reaches 90 per cent, because they still suffer from an acute shortage of personnel, money, television and radio equipment. Every year, Western, mainly American, TV companies sell and spread abroad material for 300,000 hours of broadcasting. These broadcasts advertise bourgeois ideology and morality, inculcate a consumer approach, and impose the false criteria of social justice, freedom and well-being.

A similar situation can be observed in publishing. As a rule, two out of every three books on sale in local bookshops are of foreign origin. According to preliminary data, the sales of books in Asia and Africa yield at least \$300 million in profits for US businessmen.

Transnational publishing houses that have an opportunity to use printing equipment in Hong Kong, Spain and other countries can put out school teaching aids cheaper and faster than local publishers. For example, in Africa the share of the latter (there are 320 of them) in the production of books is only 10 per cent, whereas 10 foreign publishing houses put out the remaining 90 per cent.

## FREEDOM OR SPIRITUAL BONDAGE!

In fact, over the last quarter century the newly-free countries have never virtually halted in their resolute struggle for a restructuring of international relations in the information sphere and for the establishment of national sovereignty in culture and communication.

The elimination of "information imperialism" or, as it is also called, "cultural imperialism", presents a prime problem for the young states. Not by chance did the 7th Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Nonaligned Countries (New Delhi, 1983) noted that the setting up of a new information order is no less urgent than the establishment of a new international economic order.

In the UN and UNESCO, at forums of journalists from nonaligned countries and at numerous meetings and seminars of the International Organisation of Journalists, warnings are voiced about the danger posed by the ideological offensive launched by the West, and a call is heard to counterpose it by joint efforts and to introduce more resolutely the elements of a new international information order.

On the initiative of the Group of 77, the 39th UN General Assembly adopted by 132 votes to 6 (the USA, Britain, the FRG, Holland, Israel and Japan) a resolution on questions relating to information. The main content of the document is decolonisation of information, aid to young newly-free states in creating their own information and communication infrastructure, in training local journalists and specialists in television and radio electronics, and improvement of their own mass media. The resolution was supported by the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community.

The USSR's stance as regards the young countries implies assistance by word and deed in their struggle against "intellectual colonialism". The Soviet Union has always approved of their specific steps towards strengthening multifaceted and equitable cooperation between them in the sphere of communications and exchange in culture and information. The USSR welcomed the creation of the Caribbean, Pan-African, Asiatic and Arab information agencies, as well as the Pool of the Information Agencies of the Nonaligned Countries. The Soviet Union supplies a variety of equipment and spare parts for radio stations, printing shops, factories producing TV sets and transistor-radios, for cinema studios, and national libraries. The USSR sends Soviet specialists to assemble equipment, elaborate schemes for developing national means of communication, and renders assistance in training personnel.

Soviet assistance in that field is part of the overall line taken by the socialist community towards consolidating cooperation with Asian, African and

Latin American countries with no strings attached. The socialist countries treat with understanding and sympathy the urge of the peoples of those continents to protect themselves from the ideological expansion of imperialism, and put an end to the foreign influence on the establishment of their national self-awareness. There is no doubt that important steps have been taken and first achievements have been scored, but quite a few battles remain to be fought and their success will depend largely on the joint and well-coordinated actions of the newly-free countries and their natural allies, i. e., the countries of the socialist community. ■

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### PROGRESS, PROSPECTS FOR ZIMBABWE'S DEVELOPMENT DISCUSSED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 4, Jul-Aug 86 pp 70-73

[Article by Vladimir Korochantsev]

[Text]

A rally was in progress in the centre of Sinoia. "From this day on, this beautiful snow-white building will be called the House of Seven Heroes," the Mayor of the city said.

Here, in the northwest of the country, in 1966 seven brave guerrilla fighters were killed in an unequal clash with the forces of racist-colonialist Rhodesia.

Zimbabweans revere the sacred memory of all those who sacrificed their lives for freedom; their feats have been described by writers and poets. The government has decided to give material assistance to the families of patriots who perished in the struggle. To erase the memory of the evil past, the people's power is renaming the towns, villages, streets, rivers, sometimes even streams and hills, giving them either the names of renowned ancestors, or the fighters who delivered them from the Smith regime.

"The new names give more self-respect and dignity to our people," stressed Mike Menyati, a well-known Zimbabwean journalist.

\* \* \*

The country's choice of a socialist course was clearly reiterated by the Zimbabwe African National Union—Patriotic Front (ZANU—PF), the country's ruling party, at its Second Congress, held in August 1984. Actually, the choice was made back during the national liberation war: the alternative was either to languish under the yoke of dependence on the outskirts of the world capitalist system, even after victory, or to live as they saw fit and build a society with no exploitation of man by man—but they had to build it in extremely difficult conditions.

Today, too, one has only to walk along the streets of Harare, capital of the Republic, to realise the tight grip maintained by the 300 imperialist monopolies that have seized the Zimbabwean economy. Signboards in Granitside, the business centre of Harare, cry out the names of Lonrho, Anglo-American, Rio-Tinto, Union Carbide and other corporations. British banks dominate finances; American, South African, British firms dominate industry.

Some of the villas belonging to Europeans are real palaces. One day Smith himself outlined the "ideals" of the white colonisers, the "masters of Africa": he promised three black servants, two cars, a swimming pool and a tennis court for every household. Against the backdrop of the oppressed majority's poverty and suffering, the wealth of a handful of colonialists was disgusting.

Under the circumstances, cooperation—even mere coexistence between the two races—seemed incredible and utopian

in April 1980, when the independent Republic of Zimbabwe was proclaimed, Smith's propaganda screamed to the whole world that if the Blacks were not suppressed, they would crush the Whites. The tune was readily picked up by the Western mass media.

"Our fears have vanished entirely," says Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, Chairman of the ZANU—PF, who has spent half his life in a racist prison. "The policy of national reconciliation has secured the smooth development of a multi-racial society; it was promoted by our entirely desegregated institutions like schools, hospitals, sports and recreation centres. The problem of racism does not exist in Zimbabwe any more."

Indeed, the Shona, Ndebele, Kalanda, Wenda, Tsonga, and Shangani nationalities, as well as the British, Afrikaners, Italians, Greeks, and Portuguese—live according to the same laws and enjoy equal rights. Those who did not like this state of affairs have left Zimbabwe, and today the number of the Whites in the country has stopped at the 120,000 mark. I have had talks with Barnard Thompson, a businessman, John Rex, ex-pilot, Carol Baron and other Whites, most of whom think the government policy as regards the nationalities and racial question is both reasonable and well-balanced.

"It was not the Whites, but racism and colonialism that we fought," said Nathan Shamuyarira, Member of the Politburo of the ZANU—PF, Minister of Information, Post and Telecommunications to explain policy-making propositions. "We have been repeating in our documents that cooperation to achieve justice is the main thing, not the colour of one's skin."

While on a visit to the Ministry of Information, I was shown the "manifesto" of the reactionary Allied African National Council, headed by Bishop Abel Muzorewa, a traitor to his own people, the self-seeking "Judas Iscariot of the Zimbabwe people", as he was aptly nicknamed by Shamuyarira; Muzorewa had once been an obedient servant of Ian Smith and maintained "special relations" with the racists of Pretoria and the US special agencies. His "manifesto" proved Muzorewa a brazen liar and hypocrite. Naturally, he was against the cooperatives to which people were sent "to study communism", to quote him, and "the government allowed the children to disobey their parents" by granting the population the right to vote from the age of 18. In Parliament, this "advocate of family harmony" was asked pointblank, "And how many children have you killed?"

Ian Smith's son Aleck provides a graphic example of a quite different attitude. After leaving home, the boy was burning the candle at both ends out of sheer despair; he rubbed shoulders with the "gilded youth", with alcoholics and narcomaniacs. Aleck, however, was lucky: he survived; then he met Arthur Kanodereka, a Black patriot. Arthur had been imprisoned and tortured by Rhodesian gendarmes. Together with his new friend, Aleck Smith walked around the country, propagandising "Black majority rule". His recently published book, *Now I Call Him Brother*, in a sincere and very individual manner defends the right of Zimbabweans to opt for socialism. The author writes that his father's government was, probably, the most racist and repressive that had ever existed. The public humiliation of Africans was carried out against overall dreadful "anti-communist paranoia". The label of "communist" was attached to everything that Ian Smith or his government did not like, to everybody who disagreed with them. Yet if one considers the structures of African society more attentively, A. Smith continues, one can see that Africans are "instinctive socialists".

Well, and what about the foreign sway in the national economy? Citing Robert Mugabe, "no matter what programmes you adopt, socialist or non-socialist, they are doomed to failure if the economy is controlled by people whose views differ from yours. Africa needs another liberation struggle, one in the economic sphere".

The Zimbabwean government considers a speeding up of this struggle or haste to be entirely wrong. It must not be forgotten that, prior to independence, 40 per cent of Rhodesia's budget was spent on armaments, that the foreign debt

of the overthrown regime reached \$500 million and the country was in a state of dislocation.

The strategic line of the Zimbabwean government consists in slowly but surely enlarging the state sector's share of industrial production. It sets up new factories in the key industries and strives to buy up shares in existing ones. The Zimbabwean Mining Development Corporation, for example, is working once abandoned deposits of iron ore and tungsten, having bought the controlling block of shares in the subsidiaries of several foreign firms. Another state organisation, the Corporation for Marketing Mining Products, became a full-fledged owner of the formerly private Sabi Consolidated Mines and bought up the controlling block of shares of the Mangula copper mine. The corporation completed the last fiscal year with a substantial profit. Over 700 million Zimbabwe dollars have been earmarked annually for extending the state sector.<sup>1</sup>

Despite the negative impact of the world capitalist crisis on the country, the results of the six years that have elapsed, are promising. The economic growth rate was 5 per cent in 1984; in 1985 the balance of payments was favourable for the first time in several decades; inflation subsided. Zimbabwe trades with over 30 states, and it has a choice of commodities to sell, as its industries produce 6,000-odd items, both manufactured goods and foodstuffs.

Zimbabwe's achievements in the social sphere are especially impressive. A minimum wage has been established for factory and office workers though it is sometimes 30 to 40 times lower than the maximum one. The Labour Relations Act prohibits discrimination on the grounds of race or sex, this being punishable by imprisonment. It specifies the rights and duties of both workers and employers, and declares that workers' committees play the leading role in factories.

Public life also involves nearly half the population—women, who have received equal rights with men, are given executive posts in the party and state administration; they work as teachers, engineers, and lawyers, and join the army. Mary Nyambara, formerly a liberation fighter and now a paratrooper corporal, is the first woman parachutist in her native country. "I was eager to make a jump," she confessed, "as, to tell the truth, I wanted most of all to bring women's emancipation nearer."

Primary schools, which are now free of charge, are attended by about 2.6 million children, which is three times more than the figure prior to independence. Only seven children out of every hundred do not go to school today, and the authorities hope to solve this problem in the current year. They plan to abolish payment for secondary schooling, too. Over 5,000 students, both white and black, attend Zimbabwe University.

By April 1980, there were only two doctors (!) per seven million Africans living in the countryside. Today health care is accessible to all, and free for those with an income below 150 Zimbabwe dollars a month.

\* \* \*

Changes, both big and small, are seen everywhere in Zimbabwe.

... Well-tended cows graze on soft, slightly undulating pasture. A young shepherd, engrossed in reading, sits in the shade of a jakaranda tree near the road.

"The way to Jongwe?" he repeated our question, fearing himself away from his book. "But I live there. The village is behind that range of boulders, over there. Hurry up, we're celebrating the Day of the Fields today."

By the time we reach the village, the festivities are in full swing. Dzingai Mutumbuka, ZANU—PF Secretary for Production, Construction and Development, took the floor.

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<sup>1</sup> The Zimbabwe dollar is roughly equal to the US one.

"The Party pays great attention to boosting agriculture," he said. "Collective farms have been set up in all provinces. ZANU—PF is taking under its wing two farms of this kind in Eastern Mashonaland and two in Matabeleland, one in Midland and one in Manica. Many peasants went through a short-term course in cooperative work, before they united."

The Day of the Fields is usually not only for entertainment. An agronomist, a livestock expert and other specialists come from Jongwe to give advice to farmers, telling them about new types of maize, cotton, and tobacco, teaching them how to cultivate the land and save it from barrenness.

On that day, after the rally, cooperative chairman Charles Songore proudly showed the fields and farmsteads to his guests.

"Our cooperative is five years old," he said in fairly good English, betraying his Shona accent only by a few clicking sounds, "we keep 160 cows, and the dairy farm gives a certain profit. Here you see the maize sown for sale, and over there, that sown for seed. We've sown wheat this year, too."

When the narrow sickle of the young moon appeared in the cloudy skies we, fairly tired by then, were walking slowly towards the village, from which the low rumble of tomtoms was heard. The well-arranged orchestra beat out fiery rhythms; the onlookers applauded every beautiful pas by the dancers, and their enthusiasm was understandable: Elizabeth Takawira, a soloist of the National Dance Ensemble, and her pupils, were performing. Sometimes Elizabeth herself broke into a dance, but more often than not she beat time with her foot, directing dancers or groups of them, using the whistle dangling from her neck on a colourful tape.

"It's a special occasion today," says Elizabeth, "we are performing for former guerrilla fighters, now cooperative workers. During the war, they did the same folk dances in the evenings, in order to fight the enemy more energetically in the morning. Tonight we are dancing before harvesting, and it seems we'll have a bumper crop!"

African farmers lived in abject poverty in Rhodesia. The racists had sent them to the so-called tribal trust territories, arid zones 1,200 metres below the sea level, unfit "either for a white man or his cattle", to quote the racists themselves.

Initially the Republic experienced an acute shortage of land. First, the government had to settle 250,000 refugees who returned from Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana whence they had fled to escape repression. Then the resettlement of hundreds of thousands of land-hungry local peasants came to the fore. The trouble was that the Constitution forced on Zimbabwe by its former "mother-country" prohibited the confiscation of land from its former owners without compensation. London was supposed to provide the money needed for this purpose, but it fell quite short of its promises.

"We usually set up cooperatives on land we have bought out," Moven Mahachi, Minister for Land, Agriculture and Rural Settlement told me, "but the British government informed us that it thought it inexpedient to develop cooperation."

A bill legalising the expropriation of private plots of land that have either been abandoned or used for profiteering has been tabled in Parliament. The procedure for buying up plots is being revised, and compensation to ex-owners in hard currency that can be exported is being annulled.

Over 31,000 families have received 2.1 million hectares of land for cultivation, costing the government 76 million Zimbabwe dollars. Schools and hospitals have been built for the settlers; courses to teach them farming have been set up. When Britain refused to fulfil its commitments, the government of Zimbabwe instructed the State Financial Farm Corporation to include the cooperatives in the estimates of the Republic's development plan.

According to the Zimbabwean Herald, some time ago African countries pinned great hopes on cooperating the countryside. Many farms ultimately failed, however, because reforms were casual or poorly thought out. Usually there were two reasons for this: the authorities' unsatisfactory planning and the unpreparedness of the cooperative members, stemming

from a lack of knowledge or clear ideology (usually both). These failures did not, however, cancel out the very concept of cooperation as a socialist way of providing jobs and incomes to the population:

"The peasants were poisoned with lies about socialism to such an extent that they wouldn't hear of it," Shamuyarira said. "Now, on seeing the advantages of collective work, they are urging the state to set up new cooperatives, but we still have not enough funds to comply with all the requests."

Thirty cooperatives of this kind grow food crops in the vicinity of Harare, using 6,000 hectares of state-owned land; all in all, there are about 3,000 cooperatives throughout the country, hundreds of which are productive associations. The government has supplied them with 265 tractors (initially free of charge), seed, and insecticides, has assisted in building 400 store houses and is implementing a housing construction programme—27 districts have permanent construction teams.

Individual peasants have not been neglected, either. The state grants them credits and all kinds of assistance; since 1980, 850 000 farmsteads, formerly engaged in natural economy, have been producing extra output for the domestic market and export.

Despite three years of drought, the value of the gross agricultural output grew from 465 million Zimbabwe dollars in 1980 to one billion in 1985. Half of this sum was earned by cooperatives and individual farms belonging to Africans, which accounted for a mere 8 per cent before independence; the other half was earned by the Whites' plantations.

"Bumper crops of maize, tobacco, cotton, sorghum, soybeans and green peas have been the talk of the country," Robert Mugabe noted. "We have shown in deed, not in word, that we are not dependent on the weather."

\* \* \*

Far from being simply worried over socio-economic development in the young state of Zimbabwe, the imperialist powers have been plotting against it: this may be said with certainty, taking into account the legalised US-South Africa military-political alliance, known as "constructive engagement". The racist leaders have been openly threatening Zimbabwe with aggression, and the puppet leader N. Sithole is negotiating for US "political and financial support" for his gang of stooges with ambitions for power. Bishop Muzorewa, ex-Premier of the "Zimbabwe-Rhodesia government", lumped some time ago by London, Washington and Pretoria, is suspiciously active. I witnessed the eviction from Zimbabwe of the two British subjects, Thompson and Dutoit who, posing as teachers, had been spying, enlisting mercenaries for subversive acts and splitting the trade union movement. I was told by some well-informed people in Harare that these agents of Western intelligence services had been receiving orders via London and that 45 people they recruited had been secretly sent abroad to be "drilled" in counterrevolutionary camps.

In Harare, a five-storey building (No. 88 Manica Road) features a picture of a cock with his head raised high, the emblem of the ZANU—PF symbolising dawn. This is the headquarters of the ruling party; in December 1981 two storeys of the building were destroyed by a fougasse blast, together with the assembly hall, where the party Central Committee was supposed to be in session, but had postponed its meeting at the urgent request of the security service. Unfortunately, there were victims. The people I talked to in Harare were sure that the CIA had had a hand in this terroristic act, as clearly demonstrated by its "style" and the information gathered later. It is no secret that the acts performed by the US and South Africa have often been directed in the minutest detail.

A spy "nest" set up by Pretoria's secret service was disclosed in the town of Beitbridge, which had received terrorists trained overseas or in one of the camps in South Africa. Over 600 spies and saboteurs, sent over by the racists, were detained there.

"Our enemies are hampering the people in building up the economy," I was told by Emmerson Munangagwa, Politburo Member of the ZANU—PF, State Minister for Security. "We have evidence that the South African rulers earmark from 4 to 6 million rands a year just to train and ship cutthroats to our country. As a result, our spending to guard points of importance is soaring. Substantial funds are channelled away from peaceful construction; besides, our enemies combine violence with overt psychologic warfare."

To destabilise the situation in Zimbabwe, hostile forces are sparing no effort to sow enmity between the Shona and the Ndebele, the country's largest nationalities. A state of emergency has been maintained in view of the incessant subversive activity directed from abroad and a serious threat overshadowing the Zimbabwe-South Africa border along the Limpopo river.

"The government will do what it deems necessary to protect national interests and the security of the peaceful population, despite the hullabaloo heard from various quarters," stated Canaan Banana, President of the Republic.

• • •

The Zimbabwean people acquire a clearcut world outlook in the uncompromising struggle for genuine independence and social progress. Specialised book shops have appeared in Harare, Bulawayo, Mutare and other towns, selling works by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, Russian and Soviet literature. Lenin's works *The State and Revolution*, *On Cooperation* and those devoted to the agrarian question are in great demand. Portraits of Lenin can be seen in a factory workshop, in the boardroom of a cooperative, in a private flat or a village hut.

The visit paid by Robert Mugabe to the USSR late in 1985 and the talks he had with Soviet leaders, including summit talks, have revealed good opportunities for further enervating relations between the two countries.

The political unity of the Zimbabwean masses and their resolve to fulfil the programme of radical transformations forwarded by the ZANU—PF have been cemented; this was proved by the results of the parliamentary election in the summer of 1985, where 77.2 per cent of the electorate cast their votes for the ruling party. Now it has 64 of the 100 seats in the House of Assembly, 20 mandates being reserved for representatives of the White community.

The successes scored by the republic are obvious, especially if one recalls the difficulties under which it was born. At the same time, these successes look modest against the backdrop of the tasks facing the government and people of Zimbabwe—but they have made a start, and this is most important. ■

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### ROLE OF ARAB OIL STATES IN INTER-ARAB ECONOMIC COOPERATION

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 4, Jul-Aug 86 pp 83-85

[Article by Stepan Khachatryan: "OAPEC Within the System of Inter-Arab Economic Cooperation"]

#### [Text]

Regional and sub-regional economic cooperation among Arab countries expanded considerably in the late 1970s and early 1980s. A new organisation—the Gulf Cooperation Council—as well as a number of specialised companies and financial institutions were set up. The Organisation of the Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC), created in 1968 by Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Libya (at the time a monarchy) plays an important part in the development of inter-Arab cooperation.

There are a number of economic, political and other prerequisites for invigoration of business cooperation among the abovementioned states. Of considerable significance are Arab solidarity and the struggle against Zionism, the Arabs' common enemy.

Once the Arab countries had attained political independence, the concept of Arab unity found expression in a desire to develop economic cooperation in the interests of their joint struggle to eliminate the colonial economic structure, against the neocolonial ambitions of imperialism, and to achieve economic independence.

In reality, however, the cooperation programmes were implemented rather inadequately. For example, the 1964 agreements on Arab economic unity and the formation of the Arab Common Market, the plans for ensuring freedom of movement of people, capitals and

commodities, and the introduction of single custom tariffs with respect to third countries in fact remained on paper. The fate of the Arab Common Market was due to the considerable differences in the socio-political conditions and economic development levels of the Arab states. As a result, far from all the countries of the region joined it. Moreover, political and economic differences exist between the countries that did become members.

The major OAPEC member-countries' receipts of large-scale currency revenues from exports of liquid fuel and gas acted as a powerful economic stimulus to the development of inter-Arab cooperation. For example, for a decade (1974-1983) the incomes in the Arab OPEC members (Algeria, Iraq, Qatar, Kuwait, Libya, the United Arab Emirates, and Saudi Arabia) increased by almost 100 per cent (from \$52.1 billion to \$101.1 billion)<sup>1</sup>, and this enabled the abovementioned states to launch a number of economic and social programmes. At the same time, the vulnerability of petroleum revenues and their dependence on market fluctuations and upheavals, energy-saving policy, and also the efforts of the oil-importing countries to develop alternative sources

<sup>1</sup> *Petroleum Economist*, June 1984, p. 217.

of energy made the governments of the Arab petroleum-producing states seriously analyse ways to reduce their dependence on oil and diversify their economies. Economically, it would be expedient to solve such complicated problems by joint effort.

Besides, it should be noted that such specific features of the oil industry as high capital intensity, an orientation on highly skilled labour, the use of modern technology, and the large optimum scale of industrial units of the petroleum, oil-refining and petrochemical industries considerably impede exploitation of the entire complex of the oil-and-gas economy within an individual developing country and make regional or international cooperation more urgent. Success in implementing a joint project also largely depends on the market which, in most cases, is much greater than the domestic one.

One more factor should be taken into account. Abdelaziz Alwattari, Deputy Secretary-General of the OAPEC, writes that, for the European economy, oil and gas mean energy and raw materials, but for the OAPEC countries they are, among other things, a source of financing their economic cooperation and development. Moreover, he adds, they constitute the sole energy source for Arab countries, satisfying 95 per cent of their energy consumption and, in this context, something more than mere market forces is necessary.<sup>2</sup> By "something more" Alwattari means the creation and development of an institutional basis for joining the efforts of the Arab petroleum-producing countries.

On the whole, objective conditions have taken shape in the Arab world that contribute to the mutual interests of individual countries in overcoming obstacles to economic growth. Capital-surplus oil-exporting states need an inflow of labour resources from abroad, primarily from Arab countries, owing to the shortage of the local workforce, whereas oil-importing (Arab) countries

suffer from an acute shortage of accumulations in cost form, i. e., they are interested in financial aid from the former group of states. The narrow nature of the domestic markets of the countries of the region, predetermined by their economic development level, their limited areas and populations are becoming an increasing obstacle to building profitable enterprises with large-scale production.

Among the factors promoting a strengthening of integration ties, Abdel Kader Maachou, a prominent Algerian economist, singles out the "demographic mutually complementary nature" of the Arab countries—big and small. The labour problem is so acute that even Egypt's expulsion from all inter-Arab organisations after the signing of the Camp David agreements had no influence on the Egyptian workers in the Persian Gulf countries. They were not expelled from those states. Moreover, they continued unhindered to transfer part of their earnings to their native country, and their numbers increased. Such monetary transfers considerably improve the balances of payment of such countries as the Yemen Arab Republic, Egypt and some others.

The geographic factor also promotes the development of inter-Arab economic cooperation. For example, the oil-exporting Arab countries transport the oil across the territories of neighbouring states (Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan), and this creates flows of inter-Arab payments and make Arab states interested in cooperation.

Thus, the common tasks of struggling for economic independence and against neocolonial exploitation impel all Arab states to take joint steps towards developing economic cooperation.

Moreover, it is said in the Arab world that the philosophical prerequisites exist for that cooperation, referring to the fact that the unity of the "Islamic nation" and the unification of all its members constitute the basis of the concept of Islam. Mohammed Abdel Manam Oufi (Saudi Arabia), an advocate of the theory of "Islamic integration", holds that "it is one of the best ways towards economic integration. There are all the necessary foundations for erecting a firm economic edifice in

<sup>2</sup> *OAPEC Bulletin*, November 1984, p. 28.



which all these [Islamic.—S. Kh.] countries will obtain all advantages stemming from integration and ensuring efficiency in using elements of economy and increasing real incomes and growth of the people's well-being"<sup>3</sup>. Academician Yevgeni Primakov writes: "Such concepts of the 'Islamic state' and 'Islamic economy' are used not only by petty-bourgeois circles, but also by conservative groupings of the big bourgeoisie, which introduces a quite specific social meaning to them, i. e., domination by the bourgeois-landlord circles with a prominent trend towards dictatorial forms of government"<sup>4</sup>.

At the same time, it should be borne in mind that such factors as a certain community of history, culture and literary language are of some importance for the development of inter-Arab economic cooperation.

OAPEC, which now includes Algeria, Bahrain, Iraq, Qatar, Kuwait, Libya, and United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Tunisia (i. e., ten of twenty Arab countries), plays an important role in the complicated and diverse system of that cooperation. (Egypt's membership in OAPEC was suspended after it signed a separate agreement with Israel in 1979).

As already mentioned, OAPEC was set up in 1968 for the purpose of developing economic cooperation and building up the independent oil-and-gas complexes of its members, and also constructing joint projects and training personnel. In accordance with the agreement with OPEC, it takes no part in elaborating the oil policies of the Arab countries. The preamble to the agreement envisaging the creation of the Organisation reads, in part, that the founding states "understand the role of oil as the principal source of their revenues, and they should develop and preserve it in such a way that it brings them maximum legitimate advantage".

Article 2 of the Agreement envisages that the "main purpose of the Organi-

sation consists in cooperation among member-states in various fields of economic activities within the framework of the oil industry and the establishment of closest relations between them in that sphere".

The role and importance of the Organisation are determined primarily by its share of world deposits and production of oil and, partly, of gas. In 1984, the OAPEC member-states accounted for 30 per cent of the world output of oil and five per cent of that of gas, or 571 million tons of oil and 51.2 billion cubic metres of gas. At the same time, on average, they used about 75 per cent of casing-head gas. The oil deposits in the OAPEC member-states were estimated, at the end of 1984, as 54.7 billion tons, or 65.3 per cent of world resources (excluding the socialist countries), and those of natural gas as 14.6 trillion cubic metres, or 27.1 per cent of world deposits (excluding the socialist countries).

The OAPEC member-states have been focusing increasing attention on the development of the oil-refining industry. During 1983, the productive capacities of refineries there increased by 35.8 million tons and amounted to 219.4 million tons a year after the new projects were commissioned—in Yanbu (Saudi Arabia) with a capacity of 12.4 million tons; in Baiji (Iraq)—7.6 million; in Ras-Lanuf (Libya) 10.5 million tons, and also an increase in the capacity of the existing refineries in Umm-Said (Qatar) by 2.4 and in Umm-an-Nar (the United Arab Emirates)—by 2.9 million tons a year. The capacity of all the refineries under construction or planned in 1984 in the OAPEC member-states amounted to 94.8 million tons a year. The total annual productive capacity of the existing refineries in those countries, as well as those under construction or planned, amounted to 314.2 million tons in 1984.

The participants in OAPEC focus special attention on joint Arab projects in oil and gas production. By the end of 1985, five joint companies were set up within the framework of the Organisation, each of them covering one major sector of the petroleum complex. For example, the Arab Petroleum Services Company drills oil wells, services them

<sup>3</sup> *Al-Bilyad*, 1981, March 25, p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Ye. Primakov, "Islam and Social Development in Eastern Countries," *Voprosy filosofii*, (Problems of Philosophy), 1980, No. 8, p. 65.

and carries out other operations connected with oil extraction. The Arab Maritime Petroleum Transport Company ships oil from the area of its extraction to the places of consumption. Another Arab company builds, services and repairs tankers. The Arab Petroleum Investments Company invests in all fields of the oil industry, as well as in related and supplementary branches. It finances drilling projects, oil transportation (tanker fleet and pipeline transportation), the building of dry docks and other operations following the extraction of oil and gas, such as projects for oil refinery, petrochemistry, the collection and liquification of gas, production of chemical fertilizer, and so on. The Arab expert company provides consultations to national firms and renders them services in elaborating oil projects.

It has been decided to set up an Arab Drydock Company for the Mediterranean. The technological and economic back up for the project is now being completed.

An Arab Petroleum Training Institute has been set up within the framework of OAPEC. It organises training courses for personnel at different levels and puts out teaching and visual aids.

The organisational structure of OAPEC includes a Judicial Tribunal that is neither an arbiter commission, nor an investigatory committee. It is a court for interpretation and enforcement of the articles from the Agreement concerning the creation of the Organisation and the fulfilment by the sides of the ensuing duties. The Tribunal examines conflicts linked with oil operations by member-states and other problems passed to it for consideration by the OAPEC Council of Ministers. The Judicial Tribunal has not yet overcome its organisational difficulties nor started working actively.

The Second Arab Energy Conference, held in Doha (Qatar), from March 6 to 11, 1982, adopted a recommendation on the transfer to OAPEC of all energy problems emerging within the Arab region. In conformity with that recommendation, an Arab Centre of Energy Studies is now being set up to coordinate the Arab countries, sub-regional and inter-Arab energy efforts. The main tasks of the Centre include development and

elaboration of energy sources, collection of information and study of projects connected with energy production.

Thus, provided the above-mentioned OAPEC plans are implemented successfully, the Organisation will have an opportunity to reach a higher level of integration and expand its sphere of activities by covering the entire energy production of the Arab world, thereby involving in its ranks a larger number of Arab countries, including oil-importing states.

...

Of course, OAPEC is facing a lot of problems, such as shortage of experience and skilled personnel, the obstacles to the activities of the Organisation raised by transnational corporations, and differences and even contradictions between the OAPEC members. In our opinion, inadequate activity and sometimes lack of conformity between the actions of the progressive member-states (Algeria, Iraq, Libya and Syria) are among the serious shortcomings of the Organisation. In fact, the Arabian monarchies, which are focusing increasingly on developing cooperation within the framework of the Council for Cooperation of the Persian Gulf Arab States, to the detriment of OAPEC interests, take the lead in OAPEC. Although, objectively, inter-Arab cooperation is anti-imperialist in character, the Persian Gulf conservative petroleum monarchies, comprising the nucleus of the capital-surplus Arab states, are seeking to develop cooperation primarily within the framework of their own grouping, in order to strengthen their political positions in the region.

Besides, owing to the complications involved in managing joint enterprises, if the interests of all participants are observed, and in view of the comparatively low efficiency of their activities, most Arab countries prefer to develop their oil-and-gas industries and infrastructure on their own, and this leads to duplication of efforts in that sphere. The leaders of OAPEC themselves admit that the results of the activities of the Organisation and of the firms set up within its framework are rather modest.

Thus, OAPEC has been facing serious problems, the solution to which is blocked by the profound socio-economic and political differentiation between the Arab countries and their continuing dependence on the West. The implementation of deep-going socio-economic and political transformations, aimed at creating an industrial system of productive forces in the interests of the working masses and ensuring economic independence in the course of a consistent struggle against neocolonial dependence, constitutes a necessary prerequisite for successful fulfilling the developing countries' plans for economic integration. ■

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### BOOK ON IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE IN AFRICA REVIEWED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 4, Jul-Aug 86 pp 94-95

[Article by Cand. Sc. (Philos.) S. Nemanov]

[Text]

Н. Д. КОСУХИН. *Арена борьбы идей — Африка*. Москва, «Наука», 1985, 208 стр.

N. KOSUKHIN, *Africa—an Arena of Battling Ideas*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1985, 208 pp.

In the African countries, a demarcation of the ideological positions of progressive and reactionary forces is gaining momentum. Today's slogans in the struggle for national liberation have different class content, since they reflect the interests of various socio-class groupings. A new monograph by N. Kosukhin analyses these processes.

Noting the specifics of the ideological struggle in Africa, the author points out that the traditional forms of ideology and religion exert a considerable influence on the formulation of concepts by various socio-political groups, both progressive and reactionary. N. Kosukhin rightly notes that, at this stage in the ideological struggle, a national covering is often used to wrap up pro-bourgeois, national-reformist theories, which are expressed in different versions of "African socialism".

The book examines in detail bourgeois concepts aimed at "resolving" the socio-economic problems of the newly-free countries. The author studies the class positions of bourgeois ideologists who attempt to determine the development prospects of African states in the framework of their relations with the world capitalist system. Bourgeois theories of the 1950s and 1960s, which did not stand the test of time, have gradually been replaced by new theoretical constructions of the 1970s and 1980s, which, their creators claim, reflect more adequately African specifics and take into account the growing struggle of the African peoples against the neocolonialist policy of imperialism.

The monograph notes that, despite differences in analytical approach to African problems and the variety of methods, the main trend in bourgeois African studies at this juncture is to renounce unabashed apologies of capitalism and to seek more acceptable (not so odious) concepts but, of course, retain the old function of ideologically justifying the colonialist and neocolonialist policy of imperialism. A special part of the book reviews attempts to create a social-democratic "model" for Africa.

After analysing the influence of external factors on ideological processes in Africa, the author focuses his attention on internal patterns in the origins and development of African nationalism, and its division into progressive and reactionary trends. The researcher's special interest in this proceeds from the fact that after uniting different social and class forces, during the first phase of the independence struggle, nationalism later served as the ideological source for both pro-bourgeois and revolutionary-democratic trends in the national liberation movement.

N. Kosukhin scrutinises various kinds of "African socialism" in their development, taking into account the social psychology of the bulk of the population in African countries, who are influenced by traditional views and prejudices.

The book shows the development of progressive trends in the ideology and politics of African countries. The formation of the revolutionary-democratic ideology is examined in action and in parallel with an analysis of the ideological and political situation in the countries with a socialist orientation. The author proceeds from the thesis that the anti-capitalist tendency inevitably derives from the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist nature of the national liberation revolution. The social sources of this ideological trend are, however, reduced in the book mainly to petty-bourgeois nationalism, and petty-bourgeois revolutionism (p. 72, 88), which, in our opinion, makes the analysis of this phenomenon somewhat one-sided. It is regrettable that the author has not voiced his opinion on the discussion conducted in Soviet literature on the role of petty-bourgeois strata and the importance of petty-bourgeois revolutionism under African conditions.

Writing about the rising ideological level of the progressive forces in Africa, the author, at the same time, views the results of their activities with a critical eye, pointing out that the remoulding of public consciousness takes a long time and demands intensive efforts in education, dissemination of scientific knowledge, socialist ideas, and atheistic views.

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## LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

### U.S. CENTRAL AMERICA POLICY INITIATIVES, SETBACKS EVALUATED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 6, Jun 86 pp 7-15

[Article by V.P. Sudarev: "Central America: Dangerous Development of Events"]

[Text] The Central America conflict is an acute regional crisis of the modern world born of U.S. imperialism's reaction to the intensive development of revolutionary processes in a sphere of its traditional influence. In this respect it has features in common with preceding crisis situations in international relations in the Western Hemisphere (the 1954 Guatemala crisis, 1965 Dominican crisis). However, in terms of the seriousness, duration and nature of confrontation this conflict has a number of fundamentally new singularities. And it is a question in this case not only of the fact that, given further escalation, it is fraught with serious international consequences. The events in the subregion testify to a considerable toughening of the policy of American imperialism in respect of the liberation movement at the current stage.

Washington has turned Central America into a kind of proving ground where a number of "promising" methods of imperialist policy are being tested: regionalization of counterinsurgency warfare (El Salvador--Honduras---Guatemala), deployment of American RDF, destabilization of progressive regimes (the undeclared war against Nicaragua) and so forth.

Nonetheless, the development of the Central America crisis shows graphically that, despite a whole number of propitious circumstances--geographical proximity, traditionally high level of influence, an infrastructure of relations with states of the region which has existed for decades and, finally, a chauvinist psychological climate within the country created by powerful propaganda campaigns--the United States' possibilities in the subregion are far from boundless. This has been caused primarily by the scale of the liberation struggle making "simple and inexpensive" solutions ineffective.\*

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\* "The Future of Central America. Policy Choices for the United States and Mexico," Stanford, 1983, p 8.



Eloquent testimony to this are the events in El Salvador, which was officially proclaimed at the start of the 1980's the main target of American "deterrence" policy in the subregion. The United States was unable to resolve the "Salvadoran problem" at a stroke, which forced it to seek new forms of influencing the situation--in particular, active use of the electoral mechanisms and even actual approval of the Duarte government's negotiations with the FMLN-FDR representatives.

U.S. policy in Central America has been influenced by a quite extensive list of "inhibitor"-factors of both an internal and external nature. Among these were primarily the absence in the country in the first half of the 1980's of a consensus on Central America policy, despite the considerable efforts made to achieve such by the Reagan administration. The opposition of the Democrats and some Republicans in Congress forced the government to literally "force through" even negligible appropriations for military aid to the Salvadoran regime or support for the Contras.

In addition, a certain influence on U.S. policy has been exerted by interdepartmental contradictions also. Thus for the first time since the war, perhaps, the State Department, in which a large-scale purge was carried out at the start of the 1980's to rid it of functionaries connected with the preceding administration and not sharing the power solution policy, occupied a more aggressive position than the Pentagon. The degree of restraint of C. Weinberger's department is explained by a number of circumstances, among which is the fear that direct intervention in Central America could jeopardize the passage through Congress of record military budgets owing to the duration and difficulty of military actions and also the unpredictability of the consequences of a regionalization of the armed conflict.

A most important factor inhibiting Washington's aggressive aspirations is the steadfastness of the Nicaraguan revolution and the readiness of the people's masses to rise to the struggle against the interventionists. A direct invasion of Central America would result in thousands of American lives and would lead to a protracted war, which is opposed by broad public circles in the United States.

Tremendous significance for deterring imperialist aggression is attached to the constructive position of the Soviet Union, Cuba and the entire socialist community and the assistance which they are rendering the Sandinista revolution. Nicaragua is also receiving active political support from nonaligned states, whose role in the search for a peaceful solution of the conflict is growing.

The highly cautious position of the United States' West European allies, which, despite all the difference in particulars, as a whole advocate a political solution, stands out among the factors of a foreign policy nature. This has to be taken into consideration by the United States in view of the fact that direct intervention could lead to a weakening of the Atlantic alliance. In other words, the Reagan administration has not succeeded in limiting West Europe's role in Central America to the position of detached

observer automatically supporting its "senior partner," whose security is allegedly "threatened". In addition, in a number of instances such as West European countries as France, Spain and Sweden have engaged in foreign policy acts objectively aimed against U.S. policy.

American diplomacy has failed to win support for an interventionist policy on the part of potential allies in the region--Argentina, Venezuela and Colombia. The Malvinas crisis struck a strong blow at the trend which had appeared in 1981 toward enlistment of countries of the Southern Cone in the Central America conflict. An important result thereof was a pronounced reevaluation by ruling circles of Latin American countries in questions of cooperation with the United States. As a result and also for a number of other reasons (change in the domestic policy situation in these states, regrouping of the ruling circles) Washington had in 1982 essentially lost its potential partners in the region and, what is more, has since 1983 come up against an opposition bloc in the shape of the Contadora Group, which has gained broad support both in Latin America and beyond.

The United States has also been unsuccessful in this time in completely removing the contradictions which exist between its allies in the subregion. The unsettled nature of relations between El Salvador and Honduras on account of the territorial dispute which led at the end of the 1960's to the "soccer war" may serve as an example. Although Washington has been able to achieve certain changes in the military-police integration of the two regimes, the contradictions between them remain. This has been expressed, inter alia, in the fact that, despite all the efforts of the northern neighbor, the Honduran authorities have opposed the mass training of Salvadoran servicemen at the Puerto Castilla large-scale training center on Honduras' Atlantic coast which was created with the assistance of the United States.

As a result a number of initiatives which the United States had put forward to "legitimize" political pressure on Nicaragua (the creation of a Central American Democratic Community, attempts to revive the Central American Defense Council and also, in a certain sense, the "Caribbean Initiative") were also in fact failures in the first half of the 1980's. A significant role was undoubtedly performed by the selfish approach to these questions by the administration itself, which endeavored mainly to extract the maximum political dividends from the advanced projects, displaying insufficient concern (which was manifested particularly distinctly in the Caribbean Initiative case) for the actual requirements of the states of the subregion.

Factors of various levels in terms of their nature and degree of influence on foreign policy have limited Washington's aggressive aspirations and forced it to adapt to a certain extent to actual conditions, which are far more complex than the scheduled "crusade" outlines. All this has made appreciable adjustments to the correlation of the immediate and long-term goals of the United States in this region. Although the Reagan administration has for the first time since the cold war made such a significant tilt in the direction of a toughening of the foreign policy course, it would be wrong to claim that the neoconservative wing, which has practically wholly determined the United

States' Central America policy in the 1980's, is counting merely on the power suppression of the liberation movement. According to American experts, any counterinsurgency warfare is ineffective without the implementation of a program of political and socioeconomic reforms, which has come to be called "counterinsurgency reformism".\* However superficial these reforms (rapid political effect is required of them mainly), they must nonetheless inevitably change the sociopolitical status quo in the country to this extent or the other and affect the interests of the oligarchical groups and top officer body. The latter, however, both by their class nature and by virtue of the political culture inherent therein, are not disposed toward even negligible concessions and compromise. This was graphically demonstrated by the open sabotage of the agrarian reform in El Salvador at the start of the 1980's.

In turn, the political forces potentially capable of being the exponent of a reformist alternative, in the "counterinsurgency" version included, are weak and fragmented. Their polarization in Latin America has reached a high level, and a so-called "political center" is either lacking altogether or is extremely weak. This is why the attempts at the "electoral correction" of military-political regimes and limited reform made by Washington are being given a hostile reception by local reaction. In addition, too much links the United States with its traditional political clients in Central America for it to counteract them openly, the more so in that such features thereof as fierce anticommunism and "decisiveness" in the struggle against the liberation movement are particularly appreciated in Washington. For this reason the administration, which for new appropriations for the Duarte regime needs "progress" in the observance of human rights in El Salvador, is confining itself to symbolic pressure on the local ruling groups to make them more compliant or engaging in such ostentatious actions as, for example, refusing an entry visa to R. D'Aubuisson, leader of the ultraright.

Destabilization of the Sandinista regime is undoubtedly the main long-term direction of the United States' Central America policy. The administration has employed a wide-ranging arsenal of means of combating the Nicaraguan revolution in recent years: from "freezing" assistance in 1981 through the trade embargo announced in May 1985 and from the suspension of negotiations in Manzanilla through the mining of harbors and the maintenance and arming of the Contras. There are simultaneously incessant attempts to achieve the diplomatic isolation of Nicaragua in the region. For this purpose the Reagan administration is returning to the propaganda methods formulated by preceding administrations and employed in respect of regimes of a progressive orientation of developing countries. As E. Abrams, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, declared, the set task is that of "surrounding" Nicaragua with "democratic regimes," meaning by this the recent elections conducted with U.S. support in Guatemala, Honduras and Costa Rica. This policy is aimed primarily at on the one hand imparting to such regimes

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\* R.A. White, "The Morass: United States Intervention in Central America," New York, 1984, p 5.

greater respectability in Latin America and, on the other, isolating Nicaragua from the continent's democratic community. In his speech during a 4-hour visit to Grenada on 20 February 1986 Reagan called on all the continent's "democratic forces" to help the Nicaraguan people "free themselves from communist tyranny."

Washington is also exerting considerable effort to counteract the "Contadora process," that is, the participation of the Latin American states associated in the Contadora Group in the search for paths of a peaceful settlement of the conflict. The mere fact of the creation of this group and the nature of its activity is undoubtedly a notable phenomenon in international relations in the Western Hemisphere. In fact for the first time since the war a number of states of the region has created a bloc which has counterposed to the United States its own version of a solution of an acute political question in an area declared by Washington a sphere of its "vital interests". The "Contadora process," which is in such contrast to the contemplative position of the majority of Latin American countries in the period of the Guatemala, Caribbean and Dominican crises, graphically attests the major positive changes which have occurred in international relations in the region.

The activity of the Contadora Group reflects primarily the position of a number of countries of the region, which differs markedly from the American position, in respect of the Central America crisis. The ruling circles of Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama proceed from the fact that the basic causes thereof are socioeconomic backwardness and political oppression. Nor within the framework of this approach, furthermore, does Mexico reject the armed path of ousting antipopular regimes if all other ways have been blocked. The Contadora Group countries are not interested in the United States building up its military-political presence in direct proximity to their own borders, and the leadership of Panama, in particular, is experiencing entirely justified fears in connection with what in the event of an intensification of the Central America crisis could be started by the American military forces based in the Canal Zone, which would complicate considerably the process of the establishment of Panama's full sovereignty over this territory.

While advocating a political solution of the conflict in the subregion the Contadora Group is at the same time endeavoring to confine the revolutionary processes in Central America to a bourgeois-democratic framework. This has been manifested, in particular, in the attempts to impose on Nicaragua the start of a political dialogue with the counterrevolutionary opposition, citing as an example the negotiations between Duarte and the Salvadoran patriots, although the fundamental difference in the domestic situations in these states is obvious. Whereas in El Salvador the government was forced to sit down at the negotiating table with representatives of an influential political force with extensive international recognition, the Sandinista leadership is in fact being called on to be "reconciled" to the counter-revolutionary organizations entrenched in neighboring Honduras and Costa Rica, whose "presence" in Nicaragua has been expressed merely in terrorist actions and sabotage.

The concurrence on individual questions of the position of the Contadora Group and the U.S. approach is explained by the fact that the White House frequently resorts to arm-twisting in respect of the Latin American states, the more so in that the possibilities of Washington influencing the foreign policy of the countries of the region have grown markedly as a result of the exacerbation of the debt problem. And although the administration has been forced from time to time to declare support for the efforts of the Contadora Group, in actual fact it has endeavored in every possible way to emasculate the constructive content of its activity. After all, the basis of the plan for a settlement of the crisis in Central America drawn up by the group are such provisions as limitation of the foreign military presence in the sub-region, military maneuvers and arms purchases, a renunciation of actions to destabilize the governments of neighboring states and a number of others, which is manifestly not in keeping with Washington's long-term plans. Because of the influence of this factor the prospects of a political settlement of the crisis had acquired no real outline by the mid-1980's.

Nonetheless, the result of the 3-year activity of the Contadora Group was undoubtedly positive, on the whole. In a number of cases it succeeded in reducing the sharpness of the conflict situations created in interstate relations in this region. The fact that diplomatic dialogue was nonetheless conducted here in 1983-1985 and that the foreign ministers of the Central American countries sat down at the negotiating table repeatedly undoubtedly prevented a further escalation of tension in the subregion.

Under these conditions an important initiative was put forward by Alan Garcia, the new president of Peru, who proposed the creation of a Latin American Contadora "support group". It was formed in October 1985 by Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay. Its creation reflected Latin American ruling circles' growing understanding of the need for joint actions to realize foreign policy initiatives connected with the fate of the region and running counter to U.S. policy. There was a joint meeting in January 1986 in Caraballeda (Venezuela) of the two groups at foreign minister level, at which the basic principles of the "Contadora process" and, in particular, the intention to strive for the demilitarization of Central America and limitation of the foreign military presence were confirmed. The demand for a halt to foreign assistance to any insurgent groups in Central America was advanced as an important condition of a normalization of the situation in the subregion.

Under current conditions Washington, continuing to torpedo the "Contadora process" and increase assistance to the Contras,\* is increasing pressure on these countries. Active use is being made to this end of political contacts, among which we should highlight the February 1986 meeting of Secretary of

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\* At the start of 1986 President Reagan initiated a strong campaign of pressure on Congress in order to win the allocation to the Contras of \$100 million. The bulk of this amount was intended for arms purchases.

State G. Shultz and the foreign ministers of the "eight". At the meeting he presented to the presidents of the eight countries a Reagan letter which set out the White House's views on the events in Central America. On the eve of a new meeting of the "eight" in Punta del Este (Uruguay) a tour of these states was made by H. Shlaudeman, U.S. special ambassador in Central America. According to the EFE Agency, he attempted to persuade the governments of these countries to change their negative position in respect of American aid to the Contras.

A distinguishing feature of the Central America crisis is the participation in the quest for a settlement thereof of governments of a number of West European countries and also international political organizations, primarily the Socialist International. West Europe's concern at the escalation of tension in this region and the resistance to Washington's attempts to portray the Central America crisis on a par with a test of the "efficacy" of Atlantic commitments largely reflects fears that this could ultimately lead to dangerous consequences for the world as a whole. A strong psychological influence, which was once exerted on ruling circles of the West European countries by the Caribbean crisis, the West German scholar W. Grabendorf observes, is reflected in this case.\* In addition, West Europe is characterized by a more flexible approach to the developing countries and a greater capacity than the United States for adapting to changes in these parts of the world. The ruling circles of the Old World also hope to expand their economic and political influence, taking advantage for this of the "breaches" created by the crisis of the system of dependency in Central America.

The common features of the West European states' approach to the events in Central America naturally do not preclude at times essential differences in the positions of specific political forces and governments. Thus the European socialists proceed from the fact that the power policy being pursued by the United States is leading to the actual conservation of backward socioeconomic structures and is ultimately contributing to the radicalization of the liberation movement in this region. Washington's fundamental mistake, they believe, is that the "left flank" of the this movement is automatically cut off as a foreign body, whereas it is necessary to integrate it in the political system and thereby prevent the further radicalization of the revolutionary process. In practice such an approach is expressed in extensive political contacts with the revolutionary forces of the subregion by a number of ruling socialist parties of West Europe, primarily the Spanish Socialist Workers Party. Despite the class narrowness of the position of the leadership of West European social democracy, it should be noted that these contacts are objectively contributing to the search for a political settlement in the subregion. The leading parties of the Socialist International were one of the organizers of the March for Peace in Central America, in the course of which approximately 300 representatives of different political and social organizations crossed from Panama to Mexico from December 1985 through January 1986.

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\* Richard A. White, Op. cit.

Christian democracy's approach to the events in Central America has considerably more points of contact with the position of the Reagan administration both conceptually and in practical politics. Christian democracy has been practically the sole international political force to have rendered the Duarte regime in El Salvador the support which Washington has actively sought of West Europe and Latin America. West German Christian democrats have participated in the anti-Nicaragua campaign, and the FRG Government has discontinued economic assistance to Nicaragua.\*

This has brought about the United States' markedly increasing interest in supplementing the power approach to the Central America crisis with the cobbling together of a political alliance with Christian democracy, Latin American included. Its adherence to a conservative socioeconomic pattern is evidently for Washington a more convenient version of "long-term" partnership in the subregion compared with the authoritarian regimes. R. Arias Calderon, chairman of the Christian Democratic Organization of America, emphasized in an interview, for example, that, despite certain differences in the question of the priority of political, economic and military aspects, President Reagan "has gauged the significance of questions of democracy."\*\* It is precisely from this viewpoint that the White House's dialogue with the Christian democracy of Guatemala, which came to power as a result of elections in December 1985, may be seen. It is significant that immediately following the elections reports appeared on the United States granting to this state credit totaling \$500 million for the implementation of an "emergency economic program".

The development of events in Central America testifies convincingly that the unsettled nature of international relations not only corresponds in full to the interests of imperialist circles but is also their long-term goal in the subregion. It creates an environment conducive to countering the liberation movement and pursuing a policy of destabilizing progressive regimes and broadens the possibilities of influencing the foreign policy of dependent countries and manipulating it to the detriment of their national interests.

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\* "Third World Instability. Central America as a European-American Issue," New York, 1985, p 120.

\*\* ALAI, Montreal, 1985, No 66, p 2.

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## LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

### HAITI'S CRISIS, EVENTS LEADING TO DUVALIER'S FALL CHRONICLED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 6, Jun 86 pp 16-37

[Article by M.B. Gorokhova: "Collapse of Duvalier or End of Duvalierism?"]

[Excerpts] In the early hours of 7 February 1986 Jean-Claude Duvalier, "hereditary president for life" of Haiti, fled the country on a military transport aircraft of the U.S. Air Force. As is the custom with retiring dictators, he took with him the public coffers.

The fall of the dictatorial regime in Haiti was a surprise for many people. It seemed that the well-organized "work" of the organs of repression and the all-around support of the United States should for a long time to come have ensured for it sufficient stability. However, the people of Haiti thought differently. When, however, the Duvalier throne began to rock and it had become clear that the threat of a general uprising was at hand, Washington thought it best to sacrifice its stooge. The tyranny, which lacked broad social support and was being maintained only by bayonets, fell. A wave of popular anger swept out of the country the hated family, which for 28 years 4 months had disposed of Haiti as its feudal patrimony.

But the path toward this denouement had been tragic and long.

On 22 September 1957 the negro Francois Duvalier, nicknamed among the people "Papa Doc" since he had been trained as a doctor, carried out a coup d'etat with the help of a group of top Haitian Army officers and with the assistance of the American Embassy in Port-au-Prince. On becoming president he proclaimed himself "supreme leader of the Haitian revolution" and "defender of the interests" of the people's masses and christened his rule a "revolution in authority". Thus began the "era of Duvalierism," which brought the Haitian people incalculable suffering and disasters: more than 50,000 killed, an incalculable number of persons "missing without a trace," approximately 1.5 million emigres (almost one-fourth of the population), absence of elementary democratic liberties, complete political and economic subordination to the United States and sorry renown as one of the world's seven poorest countries.



Politically and economically the F. Duvalier regime was the spokesman for the interests of the landowning oligarchy and pro-American comprador haute bourgeoisie, and its ideological basis was the doctrine of negritude in its most reactionary variety.<sup>2</sup> This ideology, closely connected in Haiti with the widespread cult of voodoo,<sup>3</sup> became in the hands of the dictator an instrument of the spiritual oppression of the people, the preservation of them in a state of fear and obedience and the suppression of any opposition to the regime.

In the years of F. Duvalier's rule relations between Haiti and the United States were not always smooth. Whereas in the first years following the establishment of the dictatorship the United States granted large loans and subsidies, there was a certain cooling in their relations at the start of the 1960's. The dictatorial regime was not included in the Alliance for Progress program (1961) for not conforming to the "representative democracy" proclaimed by J. Kennedy. However, in 1962 the White House was not averse to buying for \$30 million Haiti's vote, which was needed to expel Cuba from the OAS. In the subsequent period the United States repeatedly cut credit<sup>4</sup> and suspended military assistance. With Washington's knowledge the CIA made several unsuccessful attempts to replace the dictator with a less odious figure from the ranks of Haitian emigres who were political opponents of F. Duvalier.

But the main thing lay elsewhere: the political system which existed in Haiti--with Duvalier or without him--suited the United States, and since the contradictions between Washington and Port-au-Prince were not fundamental, relations were put right once again. In 1970 the State Department lifted the ban on arms supplies and increased financial assistance to the regime considerably, which contributed to a further strengthening of the dictatorship of Papa Doc and Jean-Claude Duvalier Jr--"Baby Doc"--who replaced him in April 1971.<sup>4</sup>

Thus the presidential chair in Haiti was not only for life but also hereditary. Initially the position of the new government was quite shaky. Two groupings, between which a bitter power struggle began, took shape in the ruling upper stratum. The extreme right, conservative grouping in the person of "true" Duvalierists was unwilling to recognize the young president, thinking that it could manage without him. This "old guard" was headed by F. Duvalier's widow, "Mama Simone," and her eldest daughter, Marie-Denise. The latter had for several years been her father's private secretary and had herself hoped to occupy the presidential chair. But they miscalculated. Surprisingly for everyone, Jean-Claude, who had been considered capable of taking an interest only in racing cars and women, proved to be a clever politician and quite a flexible strategist. He engaged in the removal of potential rivals. Understanding that it was no longer possible to rule the country as F. Duvalier had ruled it and that preservation of strong presidential power was impossible without a certain expansion of the regime's social base and a renewal of its facade with liberal slogans, he began to rely in the struggle against the "old guard" on so-called "technocrats".

Essentially the government's "new" policy amounted to subordination of Haiti's "industrialization" to the interests of the transnational corporations. A "free zone" was set up around the capital where the majority of the assembly enterprises--branches of foreign firms--was located. They worked on imported raw material and intermediate products and employed foreign technology and cheap local manpower. In a short time Haiti became an exporter of finished products (electronic units and circuits, tape cassettes, sports accessories, toys, clothing footwear and so forth). The Haitians in them were just manual workers earning for their labor approximately \$3 a day.

Meanwhile the peasants, lacking an opportunity to feed themselves and their families, were forced to head for the cities in search of earnings, be taken on as farm hands on the major estates or in the neighboring Dominican Republic or emigrate. The land which they had abandoned was seized by the agro-industrial bourgeoisie. The peasants who had been drawn to the cities basically reinforced the ranks of the unemployed and the marginals since the jobs which were being created in industry and commerce were incapable of absorbing them.

Every year 15,000-20,000 landless peasants are hired in the Dominican Republic to harvest the sugar cane. A secret agreement was signed at the start of the 1970's between J.-C. Duvalier and the Dominican State Sugar Corporation. As the UN working group looking into slavery put it (Geneva, August 1979), it represented nothing other than an agreement on the sale of slave manpower.<sup>6</sup> This contract annually brought the Haitian dictator a sizable income. In 1980, for example, he received \$1.225 million for 15,000 Haitian "braseros"; in addition, he had deductions of the order of 5 percent from their wages in the harvesting period. The Haitians under contract were forced to work 15 hours a day for a paltry wage (\$1.45 per ton of cut cane) and to live in huts without water and electricity, with no right to social insurance, medical services and free movement about the country. They were subjected to merciless exploitation and after 6 months of slave labor brought home an average \$28.

The dictatorship's economic policy had led at the start of the 1980's to a catastrophic situation. Industrial production and the export of Haitian commodities had declined sharply. Whereas in 1976-1980, the country's gross domestic product grew an average 4.3 percent per annum, a decline therein to -4.7 percent was observed in 1981-1982.<sup>8</sup> The country's foreign trade dependence on the United States, Canada and the European states had led to the least restriction on imports or a decline in prices of Haitian commodities immediately being reflected in its currency reserves and balance of payments. In 1982 the external public debt reached \$400.7 million; the direct danger of the country declaring insolvency had arisen since currency reserves constituted only \$4.2 million. Even the amounts which UNESCO had made available for development of the education system went to pay off the debts.

However, under pressure from the United States and the IMF, which had threatened to suspend the granting of credit to the regime, Duvalier had to involve himself in "bringing order to bear" in the economy and budget. In his speech on the 11th anniversary of his inauguration as president (22 April 1982) he promised to adopt measures to regulate finances, put an end to corruption, provide for full employment and grant the entire population political and democratic liberties and declared that contracts with foreign firms had been concluded for the creation of new jobs. The government's true intentions were revealed in the PUCH Central Committee appeal "Formation of a Broad Anti-Duvalier Front": to throw dust in the people's eyes with promises of changes and suck in money from foreign donors.<sup>10</sup>

Only in 1983 did a recovery of the Haitian economy begin to show, which was connected by certain observers with the Caribbean Initiative of the U.S. Administration and also the improvement in economic conditions in the United States. In 1983 the growth of the gross domestic product constituted 0.9 percent, 1.8 percent in 1984; exports increased, and imports declined somewhat (a ban was imposed on luxury imports).<sup>11</sup> But this was not the main thing. The U.S. Government continued to render the dictatorial regime all-around assistance since its stability was linked with the realization of plans long nurtured by the Pentagon to create military bases on Haitian territory.

J.-C. Duvalier had inherited from his father a distrust of the military, and events on the continent had showed unequivocally that a strengthening and politicization of the armed forces were very often the reason for the replacement of the person occupying the presidential chair. Therefore throughout the 1970's he had spent minimal resources on the training and arming of the Haitian Army, its main combat supplies continued to be stored in the vaults of the presidential palace and the established system of provocations and denunciation and constant purges and transfers in the officer body enabled him to reduce to the minimum the danger of a military coup.<sup>12</sup>

Haiti's receipt of economic, military and even food aid was increasingly connected by the U.S. Government with the question of the transfer to the Pentagon of the deep-water port of Mole St Nicholas for a U.S. naval base. The port, which is situated on Haiti's northern coast, had long attracted the gaze of the American top brass. At the start of the 1960's the Pentagon studied (as an alternative) the possibility of transferring to Mole St Nicholas personnel and equipment from the Guantanamo (Cuba) Base in the event of it being wound down.

The agreement on transfer of the port to the U.S. Navy was signed in the summer of 1983. Duvalier personally, according to the American press, was paid a considerable amount for the lease. In September of the same year many peasant families had to abandon their allotments at the time when the grounds of the future base were being marked out. Casualties were reported among the peaceful population.<sup>13</sup>

According to official statistics, in 1980 the per capita income in Haiti was \$283,<sup>14</sup> which put it in terms of this indicator in last place in Latin America. According to data of UN experts, the same year 68.8 percent of the population of the country had an annual income below the "absolute poverty line" (that is, under \$140).<sup>15</sup> The minimum wage (\$2.6 a day in 1980) was observed only in the industrial zone of Port-au-Prince, while the landless peasants hired for agricultural work sometimes obtained only food and shelter.<sup>16</sup> More than 70 percent of peasants had an annual income of \$35 and under.<sup>16</sup> The absence of any domestic price regulation mechanisms whatever and inflation (17.8 percent in 1980) were the reason behind prices rising almost threefold in a decade.

Some 65 percent of the country's population lives in hovels, and only 5 percent has electric power, and 12 percent purified drinking water. Three-fourths of Haitian doctors with degrees are emigres. Average life expectancy is 54, and starvation and intestinal disease are the main causes of the high infant mortality rate. Government expenditure on education constituted approximately \$1 per capita per annum,<sup>17</sup> therefore it is not surprising that currently only three Haitians out of every 10 can read and write.

Illegal emigration increased. As of the mid-1970's tens of thousands of persons have attempted annually to make a crossing by boat to other Caribbean islands or Florida. The main contingent of illegal emigrants, called "boat people," is made up of inhabitants of the country's northern provinces--areas of chronic starvation. A place on a boat costs up to \$500.<sup>18</sup> The number of those wishing to leave Haiti is such that this "business" brings in for the Mafia organizing the transportation a greater income than drugs.<sup>19</sup> However, the U.S. Government refuses to grant the overwhelming majority of Haitians who have made their way through all obstacles to the American coast<sup>20</sup> political refugee status, claiming that the reasons for their flight are purely economic. In addition, right until the end of 1982 the Haitian refugees, who constitute 2 percent of illegal immigrants in the United States, were sent to special camps very similar to concentration camps. They were kept there until they agreed to "voluntarily" return to Haiti. And prison awaited them there also: a request for asylum was regarded as "an insult to the government," that is, was equated with a political crime.

Despite the fact that the refugees understand full well the fate that awaits them in the United States, where they, if able to remain, acquire the status of "fifth-rate people," the attempts to flee the country are unabating. They believe that it is better to die en route than from starvation or in prison torture chambers. Haitian communists believe that under Duvalierism emigration became a form of passive resistance to the dictatorship. But active struggle did not cease either.

The country's progressive forces continued to demand freedom of the press, the right of association in trade unions and cultural associations, respect for human rights, an improvement in living conditions, extension of the system of education and health care and so forth. Independent newspapers and

radios (Radio Anti-Inter and the Catholic Radio Soleil) appeared conveying truthful information about the situation in the country in Creole. The brutal suppression in 1976 of the strike at the Ciment d'Haiti Cement Works, which belonged to French capital, brought about retaliatory protests on the part of the working class and democratic circles of the petty and middle bourgeoisie. Continuing to operate clandestinely, the trade unions stepped up their activity among the workers, who began to advance not only economic but also political slogans. As a result of the campaign headed by Haiti's communists and with the support of the world community the government was forced in September 1977 to free 104 political prisoners and also agree to the creation of judicial authorities which would investigate the business of "political crimes". The Haitian Human Rights League emerged at the start of 1978.

In the summer of 1979 the independent newspapers illustrated extensively the events in Nicaragua, and, furthermore, the reports were presented in such a form that propaganda against the Duvalier dictatorship could be discerned in them also. The news of the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution was joyfully received by the Haitian people for it showed graphically that even massive American aid is not a sure guarantee of the continuation in power of anti-popular regimes. Two opposition parties: the Christian Democratic Party (RDS) headed by Sylvio Claude and the Christian Socialist Party (RSS) under the chairmanship of Gregoire Eugene were created in August of the same year on the wave of the expanding antidictatorial struggle. Both parties declared that their goal was fighting the dictatorship. However, whereas the RDS expressed a readiness to cooperate with all forces opposed to the dictatorship, including the communists, the RSS leadership immediately gave notice of its anticommunist position, believing that "communism cannot be the alternative to the existing regime." Accordingly, the government treated these parties differently: after 3 months S. Claude was arrested on a charge of antigovernment activity, and the RDS was practically broken up, while the RSS existed as a legal opposition party somewhat longer--until the repression of 28-30 November 1980.

The creation of legal opposition parties was an important step forward in the political structuring of the antigovernment coalition. "These nongovernment parties," R. Theodore, general secretary of the PUCH, wrote, "represent a democratic opposition which usually endeavors to dissociate itself from the regime in order to evoke in the population sympathy and trust corresponding to the anticipated changes. Owing to the very development of events brought about on the one hand by the aspirations of the people's masses and, on the other, by the aggressiveness and intolerance of the autocratic dictatorship, the above-mentioned legalist movements occupy an openly hostile position in respect of Duvalierism and the outdated presidency for life."<sup>21</sup> Consequently, such parties remain undesirable for the ruling upper stratum, even if they are prepared to respect the existing laws.

Both the legal and illegal opposition, primarily the communists, used every opportunity and every channel in order, having broken through the "wall of silence" around Haiti, to tell the world the truth about the situation in the

country and show that the "democratization" and "humanization" of the regime extensively publicized by the bourgeois mass media were only a deft government maneuver made in the wake of American policy in the region. They pointed out that many of the democratic "indulgences" had been implemented by the dictatorship at Washington's prompting--for example, the campaign in connection with the National Assembly elections in 1979, which created the appearance of political struggle in the country. And the appearance of opposition parties subsequently afforded the U.S. State Department an opportunity to declare that "genuine liberalization has occurred in Haiti."<sup>22</sup>

However, numerous international commissions which visited Haiti in the "liberalization" years observed that, despite the demagogic declarations of the "president for life" about the "Duvalierist peace," the repression and flouting of human rights in the country continued. The 28 April 1969 law stipulating the death penalty not only for membership of the Communist Party but also for talk of a "subversive" nature, had not been abrogated. As J. Pierre-Charles aptly noted, the extensively publicized "liberalization" of the regime was nothing other than "white gloves on bloodstained hands."<sup>23</sup> Under the cover of this screen the dictatorship continued to obtain from foreign donors economic, financial and military assistance.

Throughout 1980-1981, as the U.S. Administration's foreign policy line was reevaluated, the regime's domestic policy became increasingly tough. Reagan was elected U.S. president on 4 November 1980, and in the night of 28 November a wave of repression was brought crashing down on Haiti: more than 500 well-known public figures and politicians, communists, worker activists, journalists, priests and students were arrested. The RDS and RSS were finally broken up. Thus was the dictatorship's flirting with "liberalization" brought to an end.

The start of the 1980's was marked by a new upsurge of the people's struggle against the dictatorship and the military-political diktat of the United States and for genuine democracy and national sovereignty. The main slogan gradually became the demand for liquidation of the current political system, abolition of the presidency for life and free elections to the National Assembly, in which all political currents should be represented. Increasingly broad social strata joined in the struggle. Following the 28 November repression the top Catholic clergy protested the policy of the authorities. A letter signed by Archbishop V. Ligonde even<sup>24</sup> and five of Haiti's six bishops termed the government's actions unacceptable and illegal. In the opinion of the communists, in the overall context of struggle against the dictatorship the church's protest on the side of the people represented an event of great importance.

Disturbed by the growth of centripetal trends in the ranks of the opposition, Duvalier attempted to split it. In a speech delivered in the National Assembly on 22 April 1982 he called on the emigres to return to the homeland. However, the dictator "authorized" the return merely of those whose "true ideological positions are not fundamentally<sup>25</sup> contrary to the ideological principles of Western Christian democracy."

Under pressure from the U.S. Government and the increased opposition demands J.-C. Duvalier was forced in spring-summer 1983 to hold municipal elections--the first in the history of the dictatorial regime. Despite the vote rigging and other machinations in the electoral districts, in certain cities, including the country's second biggest, Cap-Haitien, victory went to opposition candidates. However, the government struck back swiftly. In August the National Assembly enacted a law according to which the entire activity of the mayors, who had hitherto enjoyed a certain independence, was henceforward to be under the supervision of the Ministry of Interior and the police.

In May 1984 the government struck another blow at the opposition, banning the activity in the country of any political parties and imposing censorship on all publications. At the same time, however, Duvalier continued to maneuver, flirting with the opposition. Promises to legalize opposition political parties, hold new National Assembly elections, remove from the government the servants of Duvalierism who had compromised themselves the most, lower prices of foodstuffs and basic necessities, observe human rights and even grant an amnesty to political prisoners were made by the dictator in the hope that this would help Washington not to leave him alone with a people who had already recognized their power. The United States readily accommodated him, granting their protege \$45 million in 1985, promising to increase this amount to \$56 million in 1986. Having sensed the support, Duvalier regained his calm. He naturally fulfilled none of his promises, but continued the policy of tightening repression. On 28 November 1985 in Gonaives the police opened fire on demonstrators protesting the increase in prices of foodstuffs. Three students were killed. For several days the country seethed with anger.

The countdown for the dictatorial regime had begun.

There were once again protest demonstrations at the start of January 1986 in Gonaives, which rapidly spread to the whole country. They were the biggest since the Duvalier family came to power. The main slogans were: "Down With Duvalier!" "Down With the Constitution Legitimizing Presidency for Life!" "Down With Poverty!" and "Long Live the Army!" The latter slogan pointed to the incipient split in the political forces which had supported the regime. With the exception of the capital and its suburbs, the Haitian Army did not take part in the repressive actions against the demonstrators, this having been the work of the police and the Tonton-Macoutes. The military in the provincial garrisons rather kept an eye on order and tried to prevent arson and mass confrontations when the hungry crowds were ransacking food stores and warehouses.

The biggest demonstration occurred at the end of January in Cap-Haitien: 40,000 persons marched through the city streets waving the red and blue national flags abolished by the dictatorship in 1964. The demonstrators demanded the resignation of J.-C. Duvalier and the return of the money he had plundered: "Our money is in Switzerland, and we are living in poverty!" In the country's third biggest city of Les Cayes demonstrators handed foreign journalists a declaration which said that "in 3 weeks Duvalier will no longer

be president in his palace."<sup>26</sup> The declaration called for a general strike from 12 through 20 February.

Haiti's communists were in the front ranks of the struggle. The people's committees which they had set up in all the large inhabited localities were the connecting links in the struggle of the people's masses and made it possible to swiftly convey truthful information about all the events occurring in the country.

On 31 January the dictator imposed a 30-day state of siege. Meanwhile Washington was hastily determining its attitude toward the events in this Caribbean republic. The U.S. representative in the OAS proposed the dispatch of inter-American forces to Haiti in order that they might "contribute to the transfer of power to a democratic government."<sup>27</sup> Having made an abrupt 180-degree turn, the U.S. Government froze \$26 million of the promised \$56 million, suddenly recalling "serious human rights violations (!) perpetrated by the government of President for Life Duvalier."

Ultimately the U.S. ambassador simply ordered Duvalier to leave the country at once.

The creation of a "National Government Council" consisting of persons from the immediate entourage of the ousted dictator was announced on 7 February. The United States thus wished to impose on the Haitian people "Duvalierism without Duvalier" by way of the preservation in power of an obedient regime in this country of strategic importance to it.

The jubilation with which the Haitian people greeted the news of the dictator's fall did not prevent them understanding that the struggle was not yet over. The country was gripped by strikes. Sales centers and offices in the capital were closed, and almost 70,000 students and schoolchildren boycotted classes. At meetings speakers emphatically demanded the resignation of the Gen A. Namphy government and the creation of a coalition government of democratic forces.

The communists believe that there are no grounds for complacency. The fall of the Duvalier clan is only the first phase of the changes under way in Haiti, where any events capable of turning the development of the situation both in the direction of further democratization and also toward a return to the past could occur in the immediate future. According to American press reports, the Washington administration has already drawn up plans for armed intervention in Haiti's internal affairs and the transfer of marines to bring "order" to bear in the event of an exacerbation of the situation following the flight of Duvalier. The United States promised assistance to the ex-president himself, but the active protests of the public of many countries of the world against Baby Doc being granted asylum are forcing it to maneuver. The White House is not disposed to publicize the close relations which existed hitherto. It was recently officially announced that the presence of Duvalier and his family on U.S. territory would be undesirable.<sup>28</sup>



Duvalier's game is up. Washington understands full well that however subsequent events may develop, he will never again set foot on Haitian soil. However, there is something else. "Haiti has a strategic location. The presence in Haiti of a nonhostile government and population is a prime necessity for the United States' security." This approach needs no comment.

Preventing military intervention and enlisting in the struggle for the preservation of national sovereignty by all patriotic Haitians to a man is at the present stage a principal task. The communists pointed to this repeatedly earlier also. "The task of the PUCH and all democrats is to ensure that the worker and peasant masses not remain aloof from this struggle and prevent the intriguing lickspittles of imperialism using the working people as a tool for implanting new dictatorships of the same antinational focus."<sup>29</sup>

Recollections of the heroic past of the country, the world's first negro republic, which achieved independence in 1804, should today inspire the Haitian people to continued struggle for democracy and social progress. The communists have expressed a readiness to participate in national reconstruction. Dialogue with them has been advocated by RDS Chairman S. Claude. Thus unity of all democratic forces for the accomplishment of this task can be achieved.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Haiti," Rene Theodore, general secretary of the United Haitian Communist Party (PUCH), declared in 1980, "is not a sovereign state since the United States controls all spheres of national life there," CUBA INTERNACIONAL, Havana, 1980, No 3, p 5.
2. For more detail see LATINSKAYA AMERIKA No 10, 1983, pp 31-37.
3. It is believed that in Haiti 80 percent of the population are Catholics, 20 percent Protestants, but practically the whole population practices voodoo to a greater or lesser extent.
4. Back in January 1971 F. Duvalier had pushed through the National Assembly a constitutional amendment in accordance with which the age qualification for a presidential candidate was lowered from 40 to 20, and the name of the candidate was stipulated specially, furthermore. The dictator was referring to his 19-year-old son.
5. The minimum wage in the assembly sector of manufacturing industry in 1984 constituted \$26.8 in Puerto Rico, \$13.2 in Mexico, \$6.8 in the Dominican Republic, \$5 in Jamaica, and \$4.4 in El Salvador per diem. ALAI, Montreal, 1985, No 67, p 24.
6. KO'EY'U LATINOAMERICANO No 22, 1982, Caracas, p 13.
7. QUARTERLY ECONOMIC REVIEW, Cuba..., 1985, Annual Supplement, p 52.

8. QUARTERLY ECONOMIC REVIEW. Cuba..., No 4, p 4.
9. In 1983 it accounted for 78 percent of Haitian exports and 65 percent of its imports.
10. In the period 1973-1982 altogether the Haitian Government received from the United States, Canada, France, the FRG, Japan, Israel and other states \$1 billion in the form of loans, credit and food aid. However, it is not known what amount actually went to meet the needs of the country and its population.
11. QUARTERLY ECONOMIC REVIEW. Cuba..., No 4, 1984, p 4.
12. By the start of the 1980's Haiti's armed forces numbered 7,500 men (3,100 of whom police) and consisted of 10 infantry battalions, a navy (300 men and 9 ships with a displacement of less than 100 tons), and an air force (200 men and a few obsolete American aircraft).
13. "Keesing's Contemporary Archives," London, 1984, p 32911.
14. QUARTERLY ECONOMIC REVIEW. Cuba..., 1983, No 1, p 3.
15. NUEVA SOCIEDAD, Caracas, No 63, 1982, p 109.
16. QUARTERLY ECONOMIC REVIEW. Cuba..., 1985. Annual Supplement, p 51.
17. INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, 2 February 1981.
18. In order to get together such an amount it is necessary to sell everything possible and get into debt. Rural communities frequently together purchase a place for one of their members in the hope that, finding work, he will be able to help them.
19. COMERCIO EXTERIOR, Mexico City, 1981, No 6, p 633.
20. In the majority of cases the overcrowded boats are intercepted off the shores of Haiti by U.S. Navy patrol boats carrying out an "intercept operation" (in accordance with the Haitian-American patrolling agreement signed in 1981). Some of the boats are lost en route, and many which reach the Florida shores are rammed and shot at by Coast Guard launches.
21. PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA No 7, 1985, p 67.
22. BOHEMIA, Havana, No 10, 1980, p 77.
23. CUBA INTERNACIONAL No 3, 1980, p 14.
24. A distant relative of Duvalier's wife, the archbishop had always been a zealous supporter of the regime.

25. BOLETIN DE INFORMACION No 4, 1982, p 35.
26. L'HUMANITE, Paris, 31 January 1986.
27. L'HUMANITE, 3 February 1986.
28. L'HUMANITE, 17 February 1986.
29. PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA No 7, 1985, p 70.

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## LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

### LATIN AMERICAN THEORIES OF PROGRESS, DEVELOPMENT EXAMINED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 6, Jun 86 pp 61-75

[Article by A.V. Shestopal: "Social Doctrines--Evolution of Procedural Principles (Part 1)"]

[Text] Latin America entered a new period of development on the eve and at the outset of the 1980's.<sup>1</sup> Nicaragua had embarked on the path of revolutionary transformations. The intensification of the crisis of dependent capitalist industrialization had led to the collapse of the majority of ultraright oligarchical regimes. Powerful democratic, anti-imperialist movements had unfolded in many countries of the region.<sup>2</sup>

The changes in the alignment of class forces on the continent and the exacerbation of internal and external contradictions are being manifested in a stimulation of the ideological struggle, which has been reflected both in the realm of the mass consciousness and in the sphere of economic and socio-political theories and their procedural, philosophical principles.<sup>3</sup>

#### Frontiers of the 'Industrial' Cycle

With the aid of overseas partners the ruling circles of Latin American countries are persistently seeking a way out of the intensifying crisis, which is fraught with a revolutionary explosion. This search has been expressed, in particular, in an aspiration to create a "new center"--a "third force" of the social democratic and Christian democratic model to counterpose it to the anti-oligarchical and anti-imperialist movement and split its ranks.

An important part in the ideological arsenal of the supporters of the "new center" is being played by the "national democracy" theories.<sup>4</sup> Pointing to the fact that Latin American countries have reached a certain level of economic development and foreign policy autonomy, the "national democracy" theorists believe that the time has come to rectify the deformation of Latin American social thought which gravitates toward the study of national problems in the plane of external relations.<sup>5</sup> These authors declare as most important for contemporary Latin American societies the problem of the "political quality of life," which is resolved by the majority of them in the form of diverse plans for the restoration of bourgeois representative democracy.

There are considerable differences in the positions of the supporters of "national democracy" theory. Adherents to the North American "human rights" doctrine are grouped on the right flank. They are distinguished by anticommunism and a hatred of all forms of a socialist orientation. They try here to interpret the difficulties and failures of left-reformist regimes and movements in the region which have operated in recent years under the "national socialism" slogan ("Peruvian socialism," "Justicialist socialism" in Argentina) such as to discredit the socialist ideal in general. The majority of "new center" theorists shares the ideas of "humane socialism" closely connected with the program principles of European social democracy.

On the left flank of the "new center" is a group of authors defending the idea of "real democracy" and declaring the need for a combination of the right to opposition and criticism with real economic and social rights. Some of them are opposed to the North American "human rights" doctrine, rightly pointing to its dangerous interventionist implication.

Without breaking with traditional desamrollism and independentism, one group of "new center" theorists endeavors to synthesize them and transfer them to a new level. Characteristic of it is the transfer of attention from various aspects of industrialization to problems of the development of science and elaboration of the "national scientific potential" theory.<sup>6</sup> This theory also has many versions: from right-reformist plans to associate Latin American countries with the S&T progress of the centers (in the spirit of the Alliance for Progress) and utopias of a "raw material leap forward" (a sharp increase in the price of raw material for the purpose of surmounting all difficulties in the financing of national science) through more sober ideas about the fact that S&T progress could be of benefit in the solution of problems of Latin American countries only if it is combined with a profound rebuilding of the social and political structures. Among the progressive "national scientific potential" theorists there has also been increased interest in the experience of achievements in the USSR and other socialist states.

Investigation of the current ideological-theoretical situation in Latin American countries permits the conclusion that a certain cycle in the development of bourgeois and petty bourgeois thought in the region--the "industrialist" cycle connected originally with the rise and subsequently with the fall of the local industrial private-entrepreneurial bourgeoisie--had been completed by the start of the 1980's. The formation of a new cycle--"post industrialist," "scientist"--which reflected the specific views of the bourgeois-technocratic groupings which had emerged in the initial phases of S&T modernization on the continent, began in this same period.

The set of ideas of the "new center" is largely reminiscent of the totality of national-reformist concepts--"peripheral development," "new middle strata," "democratic revolution"--with a natural adjustment for the past 30 years.

If it is recalled that the first (liberal) cycle of bourgeois thought in Latin American countries covered approximately 150 years, and the second ("industrialist") approximately 50 years and the quickening rate under crisis conditions of social and political development is taken into consideration, it may with a great deal of confidence be assumed that the scientist groupings will be short-lived. Merely the course of the Nicaraguan revolutionary process has largely undermined efforts pertaining to the political and ideological structuring of a "new center" and served as catalyst of its disintegration.

In forecasting the development of a new cycle of bourgeois and petty bourgeois socio-philosophical currents it is essential to consider the regularities of the formation of the theoretical groupings of the preceding period. The evolution of social theory in Latin American countries is inseparable from the general logic of the struggle of ideas in the modern world and at the same time reflects the specific structure of the multi-structural social consciousness and the distinctiveness of theoretical tradition in this region. An analysis of the gnoseological and class roots of bourgeois socio-philosophical concepts in Latin American countries makes it possible to reveal their connection with the main directions of the contemporary mass political consciousness: conservative, right-reformist and left-democratic.

Social philosophers defending the interests of social groups with a conservative consciousness adopt a negative attitude toward industrialization, the S&T revolution and social and political change in any version. The apologists for the landowner-comprador oligarchy constituting the nucleus of these groups idealize the historical past and speculate on the existing negative experience of industrialization and the S&T revolution being accomplished by the bourgeoisie. They endeavor to subordinate to their influence the social strata with a peasant-communal and petty bourgeois consciousness. The ideologists and theorists of this school employ patriarchal slogans concerning the "indissolubility of national principles" and the "ancestral legacy" and individual ideas of peasant-communal and shop "socialisms," portraying them as truly national.

Relying on the bourgeois and bourgeois-technocratic consciousness, the right-reformist theorists also distort the basic sociopolitical conflict of modern Latin American societies: in place of the fundamental contradiction between the forces of democracy headed by the proletariat on the one hand and the united bloc of reaction on the other, they move to the forefront the conflict between the supporters of pro-imperialist industrialization and the S&T revolution and all who are opposed to this policy. In this interpretation the forces of the democratic anti-imperialist movement prove to be in a single camp with the defenders of the feudal past.

The mass sentiments of left-democratic circles are expressed by social theorists who see as the solution of the basic conflict a radical social and political transformation of society based on industrialization and the S&T revolution pursued in the interests of the working masses. Among the

philosophers representing left-democratic circles (between the exponents of the utopian consciousness of the petty bourgeois strata on the one hand and the genuinely revolutionary, scientific, Marxist consciousness of the vanguard of the proletariat on the other) there are, however, fundamental differences on the question of the participants in and tasks and paths of the democratic movement.

Contemporary socio-philosophical thought in Latin American countries is profoundly connected with national theoretical traditions both in their progressive, revolutionary and conservative, reactionary manifestations and in their similarity with and distinction from the path traveled by the social thought of the leading capitalist countries. Bourgeois and petty bourgeois social thought in the region poses the same basic problems as Western social thought--the correlation of historical progress and stagnation, elitism and democracy. However, it passes the majority of social, economic and political problems through the prism of external relations.

"Development philosophy" (desarrollismo) reflects to a considerable extent the tenets of bourgeois cosmopolitanism. Nonetheless progressist concepts within its framework have from the first steps been connected with the continuing ideas concerning national elite status, in accordance with which some countries are invariably the leaders in social progress, while others receive the benefits of progress from the hands of the "leaders".

"Independence philosophy" (independentism) puts the emphasis on problems of "peoples' rights," thus transferring questions of social equality and bourgeois democracy to the sphere of inter-nation relations. Furthermore, a significant element of the historical metaphysical approach and absolutization of the specifics of backward and dependent societies is preserved within the framework of this school.

Both directions--"development philosophy" combining bourgeois progressivism with recognition of the leadership of the imperialist centers and the "philosophy of independentism" combining ideas of national independence with isolationism and social traditionalism concepts--are represented at different historical stages by a multitude of versions.

#### 'Development Philosophy'

The coming into being of bourgeois "development philosophy" in Latin American countries is connected with the socio-philosophical community which took shape in the 1940's-1950's and which united the supporters of three concepts: "peripheral development," "new middle strata" and "democratic revolution". They reflected the first steps in recognition of the injustice of the division of the world into industrially developed and undeveloped regions, the naive idealization of the industrially developed capitalist society and illusions concerning the possibilities of local capitalism. These concepts, whose influence continues to this day, constituted the general theoretical and procedural basis of the ideological and political practice of national-reformism in the region.

It may be pointed out that the post-industrialist, scientist "development philosophy" in the Latin America of the 1980's is largely based on the category system proposed by the first-generation Cepalistas. But even more important is the fact that today's supporters of the "national scientific potential" theories are related to the authors of the "peripheral development" and "new middle strata" concepts by the general utopian approach to social phenomena about which V.I. Lenin wrote: "In the teaching of bourgeois philosophers the engine of progress is the solidarity of all elements of society aware of the 'imperfection' of this establishment or other." 10.

The supporters of the "peripheral development" theory headed by R. Prebisch (Argentina) called for a revision of the views which had been predominant for decades in the conservative-landowner and liberal-comprador environment and which "proved" that the influence of the division of labor between developed and backward capitalist states is salutary, despite the fact that it had, as is known, turned Latin American countries into a raw material appendage of the monopolies. Rejecting such views, the desarrollists declared industrialization the ideal of the development of Latin American societies and attempted to explain their countries' economic, political and cultural backwardness proceeding from the dichotomous juxtaposition of the center to the periphery.

The problems raised by the desarrollists--the ideals and goals and social development and the place of the Latin American countries in the system of world economic relations--are of tremendous importance. But they were posed by bourgeois theorists narrowly: economics was divorced from politics, and in the realm of the economy the sphere of foreign trade relations was seen as self-sufficing. While ascertaining the fact of the Latin American states' exploitation by the industrially developed countries "peripheral development" theory reduced its causes to the specifics of Latin American exports. The real enemy of the Latin American peoples' progress--the alliance of state-monopoly capitalism of the world's industrially developed countries and the local oligarchy--disappeared from the field of vision, as it were. 11

According to the claim of the authors of the "new middle strata" theory--- J. Vega (Chile) and F. Palavicini and V. Alba (Mexico)--a "progressive national bloc" of new urban groups--industrial entrepreneurs, skilled workers, an S&T intelligentsia and white-collar workers--emerges with industrial development and urbanization in Latin American countries. The "new middle strata" are allegedly "open" to reinforcement by persons stemming from all strata of the "traditional" society and proclaim as the criterion of an individual's social status his personal capabilities and erudition. Having "concealed" the national bourgeoisie behind the vague "new middle strata" wording, the ideologists of this theory assiduously introduced to the mass consciousness the image of the "dynamic industrialist" disinterestedly concerned for the progress of his native country.

The authors of the "new middle strata" theory produced a mistaken interpretation of the problem of the social structure taking shape in the process of



the industrial development of Latin American societies. Absolutizing individual facts (the influence of national-reformist ideology on the new detachments of the working class and the low level of political consciousness of the peasantry), they attempted to gloss over the antagonistic contradictions between the national bourgeoisie and the proletariat, perpetuate the leading role of the local industrial bourgeoisie in national development and counterpose the working class to the peasantry, declaring the latter an element of the "traditional society".<sup>12</sup>

The "democratic revolution" theory was based on a distorted interpretation of the stages of historical development and the coming into being of the capitalist formation in Latin American countries. Its leading authorities--A. de la Torre (Peru), R. Betancur (Venezuela) and G. Arciniegas (Argentina)--believed that imperialism in the region represents not the final phase of capitalism but the first inasmuch as it is a stimulator of capitalist development. Whence the conclusion that social ("democratic") revolution in Latin America has inevitably to pass through a long stage of the cooperation of local and foreign capital, a stage at which the negative aspects of the activity of foreign monopolies are neutralized with the aid of a machinery of state in the hands of the "new middle strata". It was postulated, furthermore, that "constitutionalism" and the support of democratic civilian governments in contrast to the militarism of latifundist-comprador oligarchies is a most characteristic feature of the "new middle strata" which ascended to political life on the wave of industrial development.

The reality the 1950's refuted the optimistic expectations of the philosophers and sociologists defending "national capitalism". The imperialist powers continued to boycott Latin American industrialization and actively supported the latifundist-comprador oligarchy. Industry in some countries of the region experienced stagnation, in others it moved in feverish spurts. Everywhere the industrial sector was unable to provide work for the rapidly growing population and the peasants fleeing to the cities from poverty and the oppression of the latifundists. A shortage of food, shelter, hospitals and schools was felt everywhere.

In this situation a rapid process of delineation began among the adherents to national-reformist "development philosophy". Their left wing engaged in a search for internal resources of economic and social development and a study of the factors impeding it. The first target of criticism on the part of such theorists as G. de Castro, C. Furtado, H. Jaguaribe (Brazil) and O. Sunkel, A. Pinto and (Zh. Chonchol) (Chile) was the latifundist-comprador oligarchy. An analysis of the situation in the agrarian-raw material sector of Latin American societies led them to the conclusion concerning the need for urgent and profound reforms, a limitation of the parasitic consumption of the "traditional elite," the enlistment of its resources in the production sphere and nationalization of the raw material wealth usurped by foreign monopolies.

However, the plans for agrarian and tax reform and the nationalization plans drawn up by the left-reformist theorists were not, with the rare exception,

used by the ruling circles of the local industrial bourgeoisie. The left-reformist sociologists then transferred attention to the problems of the industrial sector of society, seeking reasons for the so disappointing behavior of the leaders of the "new middle strata". It was discovered that the industrial development in Latin American countries taking shape against the background of world economic crises has been deprived of base sectors of industry and an infrastructure, frequently enjoys the protection of the old latifundist-comprador machinery of state and often constitutes a secondary branch in the entrepreneurial activity of powerful landowner clans.

On the basis of this analysis representatives of the left-reformist direction of "development philosophy" created the "structural crisis" theory providing for reforms in all spheres of social life. The experience of the surmounting of feudal vestiges, industrialization and agrarian and cultural transformations in the socialist countries were taken into consideration at times here. At the same time the main purpose of these reforms was the building of Latin American "national capitalism". Left-reformist sociologists connected the hopes for a renewal of society with the realization of diverse plans for a "constructive nationalism" uniting the critical "structural crisis" theory with the influential ideology of populism.

Petty bourgeois nationalist concepts of "structural crisis" continue today even, in the mid-1980's, to exert a strong influence on the ideological-theoretical situation in Latin American countries. Their authors' center of attention is now shifting not from the agrarian to the industrial but from the industrial to the scientific and cultural sectors of social development. The political coloration of these concepts is changing from national-reformist and populist to social-reformist.<sup>13</sup>

The formation of national-reformist versions of "development philosophy" was accompanied by a persistent procedural quest, a critical review of the bourgeois sociological legacy, debate with contemporary North American and West European sociology schools and attempts to grasp the fundamentals of Marxist theory. All this was done for the purpose of achieving "procedural self-determination" and elaborating an intrinsic procedure of the analysis of social phenomena. However, the dependency of the Latin American bourgeois philosophers and sociologists on the traditions of the leading bourgeois schools and the political multifunctionality of the deep-lying procedural outlines created by bourgeois philosophy made themselves felt in such procedural constructions as O. Sunkel's "social asymmetry" concept and S. Furtado's "closed society" even more strongly at times than in the "regional projects" and "national models".

Frequently the theoretical constructions of national-reformist philosophers, sociologists and political scientists contain the imprint of elitism and theories of "vicious circles" or the quasi-stability of a backward condition allegedly surmountable thanks to internal efforts and necessarily requiring external impetus. The trend toward subjectivist interpretations and reductions of the social phenomena being investigated simplifying the picture of social relations common for modern bourgeois and petty bourgeois social

science continues to exert a strong influence on them. As a result the critical view of traditional institutions among left-nationalist theorists is often neighbored by procedural eclecticism disguised by fashionable "procedural pluralism" and a rejection of an integral world-outlook platform.

The surmounting of the structural-functional approach which showed itself on the eve and at the outset of the 1980's may be considered a progressive feature in the sphere of the procedure of the left-reformist theoretical groupings within the "development philosophy" framework. Many authors are posing in full magnitude the question of imperialism's responsibility for the deformation of the historical development and backwardness of Latin American countries and advancing the demand for a humanist attitude toward choice of national development path. True, the backwardness phenomenon is frequently absolutized and serves as the basis for distorted historical reconstructions where the "backward society" appears primordially and in all its components distinct from the "developed society". And abstract humanism is used for arguments concerning a particular "humanist revolution" allegedly superior in terms of moral attributes to European-type socialist revolutions.

The protest of many representatives of the left wing of "development philosophy" against the narrow-disciplinary approach may also be put among the positive procedural trends, taking account, however, of the limited nature of the attempts to find an integral vision of social phenomena within the framework of modern bourgeois science in general. As the Hungarian scholar T. (Sentesh) rightly observes, the calls for a return from constricted (and false) interpretations of backwardness to the traditions of classical bourgeois social thought come up against the fact that "phenomena of the backward world cannot be understood without a revelation of the phenomena of the 'developed world'.... The political economy of 'backwardness' cannot be anything other than merely general political economy and an individual chapter of the basic science of socio-economic development, that is, an organic part thereof."<sup>14</sup> This observation is equally right in respect of the "sociology of backwardness" and the "anthropology of backwardness".

It should be mentioned that the left-reformist versions lost their former influence in the 1960's. The domination of foreign capital, the crisis of small and medium-sized business and the succession of right wing military coups undermined trust in the ideas of the "new middle strata," "democratic revolution" and "constructive nationalism."<sup>15</sup> The right wing of bourgeois "development theory" underwent a complex evolution in this period. There was a rapid fusion on the eve and at the outset of the 1960's on the right flank of social "desarrollism philosophy" of the "peripheral development," "new middle strata" and "democratic revolution" doctrines with W. Rostow's "stages of growth" concept and other "modernization theories" being developed in this period in the United States. The "two-stage model of development of the middle strata" and the "peacefully controlled revolution" theory, whose authors called for an intensification of the role of the leading Western powers in building the society of "national capitalism," emerged as a result of this process.

## From 'Integral Modernization' to 'Conservative Revolution'

The path of class collaboration with imperialism, the path of the Alliance for Progress, proved disastrous for a considerable proportion of the Latin American bourgeoisie. In a few years "allies" in the shape of the trans-national corporations and international imperialist organizations had suppressed or subordinated the majority of local industrialists, having established direct ties to influential bureaucratic circles: administrators from the machinery of government and the military, academic and ecclesiastical upper stratum. In the sphere of bourgeois philosophy these socioeconomic and political changes were marked by the appearance of an "integral-elite" school representing the interests of the new pro-imperialist oligarchy.<sup>16</sup>

The "traditional society--integral society" dichotomy constitutes the theoretical base of the arguments of the supporters of the "integral-elite" concept. The "integral society," in accordance with the idea of its planners, knows no divisions into social classes counterposed to one another since its basic components are to be various functional groups which complement one another and which have a mutual interest in the success of the common cause. The educated bureaucrat and manager-expert making extensive use of management, social analysis and planning techniques is advanced as the central figure of this idealized version of the development of capitalism. In turn, the main components of the "traditional society" model are the chaos of the economic, political and other forms of the social activity of its constituent groups and predatory, egotistical interests and aspirations.

The theoretical constructions of the "integral-elite" school take as the model of "integral development" the United States, which is portrayed as the ideal for the Latin American peoples. An entirely different picture is painted by the social theorists of the "integral-elite" school when addressing Latin American specifics. They record the low level of economic development of the countries of the continent and the backward forms of production, political, educational, cultural, military and other forms of social organization. Simultaneously an attempt is made to analyze the causes of the backwardness. They are successful in describing a considerable number of the geographical, cultural and other factors which have influenced the development of Latin America, including the consequences of the transference of the feudal "Iberian system of orientations" to Spain's and Portugal's colonies. However, the question of the role of imperialism and the local ruling class in the consolidation and maintenance of feudal institutions in these countries is carefully circumvented. The actual history of the region is thereby distorted and the prerequisites for a fallacious solution of the question of the paths of its development in the future are created.

The period of the coming into being of the "integral-elite" school was subsequently called by Latin American social scientists "procedural expansion" or "intellectual neocolonialism".<sup>17</sup> Since North American "social change" and "psycho-economic causality" theories served as the procedural basis of this school their authors ([W. Mur, B. Khozelits] and

D. MacClelland and also Latin American disciples in the persons of G. Germani, A. Solari, J. Vega and others) claim to have overcome the shortcomings of structural-functional analysis, the "technological monism" school and the "peripheral development" and "peaceful controlled revolution" concepts.

However, the "social change" and "psycho-economic causality" theories introduce nothing qualitatively new to the understanding of the development of Latin American countries. Recognition of the "multiplicity of sources of change" glosses over, as before, the question of class relations, and absolutization of the autonomy of different aspects of social development justifies the worst social consequences of the S&T revolution within the framework of state-capitalist organization. V.I. Lenin once wrote that such a procedure is "quasi-realistic, but in fact an eclectic pursuit of a full list of all the individual indications and individual 'factors'."<sup>18</sup>

The North American "functional elites" concept also serves as the procedural basis of the diverse projects for the adaptation of Latin American countries' traditional-bureaucratic institutions to the needs of pro-imperialist capitalist development. Speculating on the processes of the growth of the bureaucratic machinery in the Latin American states which are actually occurring, the supporters of "integral revolution" are presenting in every way possible neocolonist systems of management as "apolitical" and "integral-oriented," thereby concealing the class unity of the interests of the bourgeoisie. This approach serves to justify the traditionalist elites, substituting for the question of the class essence of the feudal-comprador oligarchies the problem of organizational dysfunction--the discrepancy between the old methods of social organization and the increased complexity of the social system. The integralist theorists openly counterpose the elitist analysis to a class analysis, declaring the "ruling elite" a social category outside of classes or above classes.

The anticommunist constructions of the social "philosophy of integralism" are varied. In a certain respect the views of its supporters signify a renunciation of the policy of unbridled anticommunism. They propound in every possible way the idea of the imaginary identity of the social processes unfolding in the developed capitalist and socialist countries. The practice of communist building is portrayed merely as a version of industrialization allegedly leading to the same results as capitalist industrialization, but with costs not experienced by West European countries and the United States. Scientific socialism in this case is presented as a variety of modernization theory, and its essence is deliberately distorted in a spirit of vulgar economic determinism.

The anticommunist precepts of integralism have been assimilated to a certain extent by contemporary representatives of the rightwing of postindustrialism. Their works, particularly of the recent period, contain numerous assertions that the countries of real socialism are departing from the prospect of communist building and are adopting "the Western ideal of the information society."

At the same time, however, they endeavor in every way possible to discredit the communist movement in Latin America. They portray communist ideology as a kind of "religion of underdeveloped peoples". Militant democratic organizations of the working people are put on a par with rightwing reaction and branded as vestiges of the "traditional society". The representatives of the "integral-elite" school speculate here on actual difficulties of the workers movement and its anarchist and Trotskyite distortions.

In works devoted to the first socialist society in Latin America the theorists of the "integral-elite" school endeavor to prove that the socialist nature of the revolution on Cuba is not a result of the regularities of historical development but was brought about by accidents and exclusively subjective factors.<sup>19</sup>

The failures of the United States' reformist experiments in Latin America discredited the social philosophy of the "integral-elite revolution". On the eve and at the outset of the 1970's a number of its representatives abandoned cooperation with the imperialist centers and switched to left-reformist, nationalist positions. At the same time the ultraright current, which began to elaborate the theoretical principles of the policy of profascist movements and regimes in countries of the region, was distinguished within the framework of bourgeois "development philosophy" in this period.<sup>20</sup>

The mass radical-right consciousness in present-day Latin American societies represents a characteristic example of a crisis consciousness. It is marked by irrational, paranoid conditions of fear and persecution, social and national inferiority complexes and surges of hope and pretensions. Typical of the radical-right mass ideology is the predominance of negative elements--in particular, the all-permeating idea of global anticommunism. World and domestic communism are declared guilty of an antinational conspiracy and all the troubles of Latin American society. Rightwing radicalism, which grows under the conditions of acute economic crisis, unemployment and Lumpen-proletarianization, attempts to take advantage of the mood of uncertainty in the future, fear and confusion to keep the masses obedient and embroil them with the conscious revolutionary detachments. The ideologists of rightwing radicalism speculate on the masses' innate belief in a just popular leader and fighter for their interests and freedom. The figure of the caudillo--the "father of the nation"--who will ensure its prosperity as soon as he has dealt with the "communist agents," is touted as such.<sup>21</sup> The slogans of the rightwing radicals are deliberately pitched low at the mass mentality and are frequently frankly irrational.

The mystifications of "national grandeur" and "social injustice" in radical-right ideology are "versions of the defense" of the interests of the new oligarchical upper crust. And a particular part, furthermore, is played by the macrosociological models of an inter-American group of experts elaborating the theory of the "interdependence" of Latin American countries and the imperialist centers.<sup>22</sup> This theory denies the very possibility of the region's states joining the group of developed capitalist powers on equal terms. Within the framework of the capitalist world the sole prospect open

to a number of capitalist countries is inclusion in the new international imperialist division of labor with the status of "factory-countries" with cheap manpower realizing the ideas and "orders" of more developed "laboratory-countries". In exchange for the right to exploit the Latin American working people imperialist circles grant the local oligarchy military and other assistance to suppress the revolutionary movements and secure a share of the profits and a certain right to participate in the plunder of the more backward "village-countries" of its region, Asia and Africa. Thus the "interdependence" theory expresses a direct departure from the original ideals of bourgeois "development philosophy" and asserts the inevitability of the backwardness and dependence of Latin America on the imperialist centers.

"Interdependence" theory serves as the basis of the socio-philosophical and sociological constructions of the ideologists of "corporatism" envisaging a modernization of society where the leading role will be performed by boards of specialists-technocrats, and the army will act on the part of ruling party.

Under the pressure of democratic forces the official ideologists of "corporatism" have in recent years been forced to consent to certain concessions. The social philosophy of "corporatism" has been supplemented with the "protected democracy" doctrine providing for the resuscitation, in Chile, for example, of certain parliamentary and legal bodies, given a simultaneous strengthening of punitive subdivisions. However, even these promises of reforms have been accompanied by numerous reservations. Commenting on the "protected democracy" doctrine, official theorists of the Chilean junta have put off its realization into the distant future, supplementing it with the "historical power cycle" theory, according to which the period of authoritarian (corporate) power is replaced by an oligarchy ("protected democracy") which prepares the arrival of "full democracy" (that is, parliamentary bourgeois democracy). "Full democracy" in accordance with this concept, in turn, often develops into the demagogic "tyranny of the plebs" (meaning revolutionary regimes), which may be overcome only by new authoritarian power. Chile is now allegedly precisely at the stage of renewing authoritarian power, at the start of a new historical cycle.

Somewhat different from the technocratic versions of the social philosophy of rightwing radicalism is the "conservative revolution" concept presented in the works of C. Mendes (Argentina),<sup>23</sup> S. Parra (Brazil) and others. The supporters of this concept criticize the "integral-elite revolution" and "interdependence" theories for the mechanical transference of models of developed capitalist countries to Latin America. In their opinion the rash offensive by industrial firms against the traditional agrarian and handicrafts production together with propaganda of the consumer society gave rise to the mass departure of peasants for the cities, unemployment and the stresses of a "consumer consciousness," which are fraught with devastating social explosions.

The authors of the "conservative revolution" theory propose the urgent protection against further destruction and, in a number of cases, the restoration

of the "traditional production zones" based on primitive forms of labor. The unemployed population should, according to their plan, be evacuated from the big cities to special areas where it would be compulsorily enlisted in "traditional" occupations for the purpose of national economic development and the restoration of a "healthy moral climate" in the country. It is proposed maintaining the obedience of the army and the skilled work force employed in the privileged sectors of production with the aid of handouts, ideological indoctrination and fear of being sent for reeducation to the "traditional zones".

In the small Latin American countries the "conservative revolution" is designed, the authors of this concept believe, mainly to solve domestic problems, and to afford the big states a prospect of association with the pool of leading powers.

Contradictions between the pro-West and nationalist trends and the technocratic and traditionalist orientations have been intensifying among radical-right theorists in the recent period. The diverse versions of social philosophy of rightwing radicalism show the extreme degree of the decay and degeneration of bourgeois social thought, its return to the feudal ideals of the caste system, hierarchy and social stagnation and a transition to the general philosophical and procedural positions of subjective idealism, irrationalism and metaphysics.<sup>24</sup>

Implementation of the social doctrines of the rightwing radicals in practice has not smoothed over but, on the contrary, exacerbated economic, social, political and cultural contradictions in Latin American societies.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. As observed in V.V. Volskiy's speech in the discussion "Latin America: Contradictions of the New Stages," the reality of Latin America affords sufficient arguments for the conclusion concerning a new stage in its history. The extraordinary cyclical crises of 1974-1975 and the start of the 1980's should be recognized as the "dividing line" inaugurating this new stage, MEMO No 8, 1985, p 116.
2. See M.F. Gornov, "Latin America: Intensification of the Struggle Against Imperialism and Oligarchy and for Democracy and Social Progress," LATIN-SKAYA AMERIKA No 7, 1982; M.F. Gornov, Yu. N. Korolev, "The Revolutionary Process in Latin American Countries: Historical Continuity and Singularities," LATINSKAYA AMERIKA No 4, 1984; "The Proletariat and the Revolutionary Process in Latin America," Moscow, 1985.
3. A multi-aspectual analysis of the current stage of the ideological struggle in Latin American countries is contained in the monographs "Contemporary Ideological Currents in Latin America," Moscow, 1983; K.A. Khachaturov, "Latin America: Ideology and Foreign Policy," Moscow, 1983. See also A.F. Shulgovski, "Cardinal Questions of the Ideological Struggle," LATINSKAYA AMERIKA No 2, 1986.



4. The most authoritative group of supporters of the "national democracy" theory took shape around C. Mendes (Brazil), who in the period 1979-1982 was president of the International Political Sciences Association. It includes (B. Lamunye), F. Reyes and others.
5. Under the vague "externally oriented theories" category they unite the bourgeois "development philosophy" (desarrollismo) and "independence philosophy" (independentism) concepts with the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of problems of the backwardness and dependence of Latin American societies which is totally different from these concepts.
6. G. Leyte Lopes (Brazil), A. Oscar Herrera (Argentina), V. Urguidi (Mexico), M. Roche (Venezuela) and others are distinguished among the theorists of this school.
7. The following basic types of mass consciousness may be distinguished in Latin American societies: landowner, peasant-communal, bourgeois, petty bourgeois, bourgeois-technocratic and petty bourgeois-technocratic. The term "bourgeois-technocratic" is defined by the author as the consciousness inherent in the exploiter groups which are connected with production and which employ streamlined methods of organization and management. The exponents of the petty bourgeois-technocratic consciousness are the proletarianized strata of the intelligentsia, white-collar workers and certain groups of the working class employed in the sectors of production oriented toward use of the achievements of the S&T revolution.
8. For social strata with precapitalist types of consciousness this singularity of the Latin American bourgeois vision is expressed in the domination of ideas concerning a strict national hierarchy and the xenophobia of various types of socioculture (the "barbarian--not barbarians" dichotomy, for example) and also ideas concerning the permanency of forms of prevailing external relations and their independence of historical time.
9. "Cepalistas" (or supporters of the "ECLA School")--a group of national-reformist industrialist-theorists which took shape in the course of fulfillment of research projects of the UN Economic Commission for Latin America Secretariat.
10. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 13, p 263.
11. The positions of the supporters of the "peripheral development" theory subsequently, as shown below, underwent considerable changes. Thus, C. Furtado became a leader of the "new dependence" school. The works of R. Prebisch constituted the base for the elaboration of plans for a new economic order.
12. See "Middle Urban Strata of Latin America," Moscow, 1984, chap. VII.
13. See, for example, C. Furtado, "De la ideologia del progreso a la ideologia del desarrollo," Paris--Tokyo, 1981.

14. International conference "Analysis of the Concepts of the Socioeconomic Development of 'Third World' Countries," Kiev, 6-10 September 1976. Propositions of the Speeches. See also: (T. Sentesh), "Bourgeois and 'New Left' Theories of the World Capitalist Economy," Moscow, 1984, chap. IV.
15. At the start of the 1980's the left-reformist social "philosophy of desarrollism" experienced a certain resuscitation connected both with the crisis of radical-right concepts and the masses' disenchantment with the political experiments of the radical left and also the decline in the influence of the "new dependence" theories (examined below). In their attempts to update their doctrines and transform the theoretical basis of the "third force" policy in Latin America national-reformist ideologists are now appealing to new social strata. From private enterprise they are turning to state capitalism, from the petty and middle bourgeois to the white-collar workers, intelligentsia and skilled workers. The words "national democracy" are substituting increasingly for the term "national capitalism" here.
16. In the mid-1960's the "integral-elite" school united such prominent bourgeois theorists as F. Fernandez, F. Cardozo, G. Soares, L. Costa Pinto, O. Ianni and M. Diegues (Brazil), A. Solari (Uruguay), G. Briones and L. Ratinoff (Chile), A. Obregon (Peru), G. Germani, T. di Tella and J. de Imaz (Argentina), V. Alba (Mexico) and O. Fals Borda (Colombia). Subsequently a number of participants in the "integral-elite" school (F. Cardozo, O. Fals Borda) broke with it and crossed to leftwing and even ultraleftist positions.
17. Leading U.S. sociologists--S. Lipset (A. Inkels), A. Feldman, W. (Mur), R. Scott, I. Horowitz--participated directly at that time in the creation of socio-philosophical concepts of the historical development of Latin American societies, in the elaboration of "national models" of development and "middle level" theories and in the organization of empirical social studies.
18. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works, vol 5, p 142.
19. V.M. Vinogradov, M.P. Maslov, "Socialism in the Western Hemisphere: Revolution on Cuba and the Ideological Crisis of 'Cubanology' in the United States," LATINSKAYA AMERIKA No 1, 1986.
20. See Ya.G. Shemyakin, "Ideology of Rightwing Authoritarianism," LATINSKAYA AMERIKA No 10, 1984; R.A. Sosnovskiy, "Brazil: Doctrine of 'National Security' and Evolution of the Regime," LATINSKAYA AMERIKA No 4, 1984.
21. Combating the "communist conspiracy" constituted in that period the crux of the leading propaganda doctrine of rightwing radicalism--the doctrine of "national security". In modified form this doctrine entered the 1980's among the arguments of the Reagan propaganda campaign of "combating international terrorism" aimed against present-day revolutionary movements.

22. This group, which is united by the research program of the Hudson Institute (United States) under the motto "Latin American 2000," incorporates G. Karlik (United States), R. Panero (Mexico), R. Campos and M. Simonson (Brazil) and others.
23. Of the same name as the well known Brazilian political scientist Candido Mendes, a supporter of "national democracy" theory.
24. An in-depth fundamental analysis of the policy and ideology of rightwing radicalism is contained in the works of Latin American Marxist scholars. Also meriting attention are the arguments of the supporters of the "national democracy" school criticizing the "corporatism" and "national security" theories in the spirit of the humanist and rationalist traditions of classical bourgeois-democratic philosophy. See, for example, S. Lozada, C. Zamorano, E. Barcesat, J. Viaggio, "La ideologia de la Seguridad Nacional," Buenos Aires, 1983.

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## LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

### BOOK ON ARGENTINE CAPITALISM REVIEWED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 6, Jun 86 pp 136-137

[B.M. Merin review of Z.I. Romanova's 'Development of Capitalism in Argentina']

[Text] Increasingly great theoretical and practical significance is attached to the subject of the development of capitalism in Latin American countries. The author of the work,\* which is devoted to an analysis of the genesis, evolution and crisis of capitalism in Argentina, has been able in a problem-solving-historical plane to throw light on a vast historical period--from the time of the conception of the capitalist structure in the midst of the colonial economy through the mid-1980's. The work is written in the channel of the important direction of research studies being developed by the USSR Academy of Sciences Latin America Institute.\*\* It represents the first comprehensive study of capitalism's main development trends in an individual Latin American country.

I would like to mention the successful structure of the monograph. The first six chapters are confined to a precise time frame, and each section highlights the most important processes of a theoretical nature, without which correctly determining the significance of the given period and its place and role in the evolution of the capitalist production mode is impossible. The final, seventh, chapter analyzes the results of the long capitalist development path, as a result of which Argentine capitalism has found itself in the grip of the most profound economic, social and political crisis.

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\* Z.I. Romanova, "Razvitiye kapitalizma v Argentine," Moscow, "Nauka", 1985, pp 287.

\*\* The Latin America Institute collective monograph "Capitalism in Latin America. Outline of Genesis, Evolution and Crisis," which illustrates singularities of the evolution of capitalist relations in countries of the region, was published in 1983.

The author points out in the introduction that a central task of the study was ascertainment of the general regularities of the development of the capitalist production mode in Argentina and determination of the specific features inherent in the capitalism of the periphery. It was such an approach to the problem which was defended by K. Marx, who emphatically objected to the conversion "of the historical outline of the emergence of capitalism in West Europe into a historical-philosophical theory of the general path along which all peoples are fatally condemned to proceed."\* The author has coped with the set task successfully.

The work traces the origin of bourgeois relations in the colonial period under the predominant feudal structure of the economy. A singularity of the first stage of original accumulation was that it was a byproduct of the original accumulation realized in Spain. Essential changes in the development of the productive forces, the extension of market relations and changes in the social structure of society connected with the increased significance of wage work gradually undermined the system of colonial domination and led to its crisis.

The author legitimately characterized the events of May 1810 as an incomplete social revolution. Although its content and goals were of a bourgeois nature, a local bourgeoisie had not in that period taken shape as a class. The incomplete nature of the May revolution was reflected primarily in the sphere of agrarian relations. The Spanish crown monopoly of the land was replaced by a monopoly of latifundists. This, in particular, explains the failure of Rivadavia's attempts to carry through in the 1820's a number of reforms, agrarian primarily, which might have changed the focus of Argentina's socioeconomic development. The land magnates seized political power, interrupting the process of bourgeois-democratic transformations.

The monograph interprets in interesting fashion the evolution of the capitalist production mode and its conversion into a leading and subsequently the predominant mode. Romanova draws the important conclusion that industrial revolution is a multilevel process incorporating technical, economic, political and social aspects whose development may be asynchronous. Whereas in the culminating phase of industrial revolution in the countries of classical capitalism national machinery was produced, in Argentina the transition to a factory-plant structure was connected with imported equipment. This made for the limited and protracted nature of the industrial revolution, given active participation and control on the part of foreign capital.

Inasmuch as both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat took shape to a considerable extent on the basis of European immigration the social aspect of the revolution was manifested before the leap forward in the development of the productive forces was observed. The continuation of precapitalist relations in agriculture impeded a profound rebuilding of industry. The industrial

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\* K. Marx, F. Engels, "Works," vol 9, p 120.

revolution on the one hand increased the country's provision with equipment and, on the other, initiated its technological dependence on foreign capital.

Examining the evolution of the development of capitalist relations in the 20th century, Romanova pays great attention to the process of the development of industrialization, accentuating attention on the intensification of imperialism's offensive against the peripheral states, the result of which was the growth of their economic dependence. Highly consonant with present-day problems are the phenomena pertaining to the 1929-1933 world economic crisis: huge financial debt, abrupt limitation of imports, the unprecedented outflow of resources from the country and other facts attesting international imperialism's endeavor to transfer the costs of the crisis to the economically underdeveloped and dependent countries. Also pertaining to this period is the emergence in Argentina of a structural crisis which has not yet been overcome.

The section on the failure of the policy of stabilization in the period of rule of the military regimes of the 1970's--start of the 1980's notes that the 1976 military coup once again showed the depth of the crisis phenomena being experienced by Argentina, which encompassed both the economic basis and political superstructure, and confirmed once again the need for serious socio-economic transformations. In the final section the author brings the study up to 1984 and evaluates the R. Alfonsín government's national development plan "Directions of Economic Growth Strategy in 1985-1989". This program cannot, as Romanova rightly points out, solve the country's fundamental problems.

The book is characterized by the depth and thoroughness of treatment of the factological material. However, certain conceptual conclusions set forth in the conclusion concerning problems on which a uniform opinion has not yet been formulated in Soviet Latin America studies appear contentious. Among them is, in particular, the question of characterization of the level of the country's capitalist development. I believe it is not only the macroeconomic indicators and sharply increased financial dependence which "brings Argentina close to the developing countries" (p 270).

As a whole, the study is undoubtedly an important contribution to Soviet Latin America studies and a new step forward in study of the problems of the development of capitalism in this region.

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## LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

### CARTAGENA GROUP'S REACTION TO U.S. 'BAKER PLAN' DISCUSSED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 6, Jun 86 pp 142-144

[Comment by A.N. Borovkov, correspondent of the journal in Mexico and Central American countries: "The 'Baker Plan' and Cartagena's Reaction"]

[Text] In October 1985 at the 40th IMF and World Bank Session in Seoul U.S. Treasury Secretary J. Baker made a declaration which contained proposals aimed at a "solution" of the developing states' foreign debt problem. Endeavoring to attract attention to the proposed set of measures, which came to be called the Baker Plan, Washington's news services attempted to portray it as some kind of "new approach," more, a "fundamental change" in the R. Reagan administration's policy on this question.

The Baker Plan was put forward at a time when the debt crisis has reached a point of the utmost seriousness. The majority of debtor-countries is forced to spend approximately half of its export proceeds on paying off merely the interest on the foreign debt, which is by no means diminishing here. This is leading to a reduction in domestic investment, a catastrophic fall in the level of production and a growth of unemployment and the cost of living and is threatening social explosions. It was in order to forestall them and preserve transnational bank profits that the Baker Plan was advanced. Its basic provisions are as follows.

It proposes that 15 developing countries (the biggest debtors) be allocated \$29 billion over the next 3 years (1986-1988)--an annual \$7.6 billion going to 10 Latin American countries. This amount is distributed among the creditors thus: U.S. private banks will grant \$7 billion; private banks of West Europe and Japan \$13 billion; the World Bank \$9 billion. The amount of credit for each of the 15 countries and the interest rate and depreciation time are not specified. It is proposed merely that the credit be long-term. The following conditions are put to the debtor-countries: control of the economy not only on the part of the IMF but also the private creditor-banks; liberalization of foreign trade, including participation in the GATT; an increase in their exports; an easing of state regulation of the economy; a broadening of the rights of private enterprise; a free system of currency

exchange; the attraction and encouragement of direct foreign capital investment; renunciation of any blocs in foreign debt negotiations and the solution of all questions only on a bilateral basis.

In other words, the plan imposed all the monetarist prescriptions whose negative consequences have been manifested graphically in the past decade in a number of Latin American countries. Furthermore, the new conditions were of a more categorical and open nature of interference in the developing countries' internal affairs. The Baker Plan essentially demands of the region that it renounce state regulation of the economy and hand over its basic sectors to the private sector, as allegedly the most profitable. The United States is hereby attempting to turn back the process of nationalization in Latin America and direct state spending on productive capital investments and social needs into payment of the foreign debt.

The Baker Plan intentionally remains aloof from the main factors impeding the development of the Latin American countries: the highest interest rates of the transnational banks, the commercial protectionism of the leading capitalist powers and the constant fall in the price of traditional export commodities.

Thus the Baker Plan sees the solution of Latin American, as also other, developing countries in setting them conditions identical with the leading capitalist states, whose development pattern is offered as a model. However, it is perfectly obvious that in this case the economy of the developing world will be completely crushed by the transnational corporations. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Baker Plan was greeted very cautiously by the debtor-states. In endeavoring to impose it, the United States gambled mainly on splitting these countries, many of which are in a hopeless situation and recognize that a refusal of the credit offered per the Baker Plan could mean a suspension of or sharp reduction in foreign loans altogether, which, in turn, would lead to the complete stagnation of their economy. For this purpose American diplomacy concentrated efforts on winning support for its initiative primarily from the Latin American "Cartagena Group" members.

Forestalling criticism of the plan on the part of the Cartagena Group, official U.S. Administration representatives gave assurances that the American initiative was "the best solution of the problem if all goes as planned" and that for this reason "Washington expects of them support in principle," while the United States regards the \$29 billion as an initial sum, and it "could be increased voluntarily by the creditor-banks for the countries which accept the terms of the plan and achieve economic growth." Simultaneously there were warnings that "debtor-countries which transfer this problem to the political plane will suffer and suffer immeasurably."

As a result of the strong pressure on the part of the United States the meeting of the Cartagena Group at finance and foreign minister level on 16-17 December 1985 in Montevideo did not reject the Baker Plan in principle. At the same time, however, the participants in the meeting noted the limited nature of this plan. Thus Uruguayan Foreign Minister E. Iglesias, who had



for several years held the position of ECLA executive secretary, pointed out that the most important thing at present was an improvement in the conditions of trade exchange and the establishment of a lower bank discount rate. Argentine Foreign Minister D. Caputo declared that "the plan is a positive step en route to the solution of just one question--the debt continues to be paid off all right, but there is no development." L. Alva Castro, vice president and minister of economy and finance of Peru, emphasized: "The foreign debt problem is closely connected with the problem of foreign trade, and while the protectionism of the developed states is maintained and while restrictions on our exports and our goods' access to these states' markets continue, the solution of the foreign debt problem will be difficult for us."

The declaration adopted at the meeting as a counterweight to the Baker Plan observed that for a solution of the Latin American countries' foreign debt and successful economic growth it is essential that the developed capitalist world take the following steps: return to the realistic, traditional interest rates; increase the influx into the region of new loan capital and separate the former debts from the new ones, which should be granted on preferential terms; annually increase the credit to countries of the region, at a minimum, to the level of world inflation; determine a percentage ceiling from the export proceeds of each country for paying off debt liabilities, which would permit the debtors to maintain at least negligible economic growth; increase by an annual 20 percent over the next 3 years multilateral financing capital; hold regular negotiations with the Paris Club members on foreign debt refinancing; expand compensation financing on the part of the IMF not only for the purpose of leveling the balance of payments but also for easing the negative consequences of such factors as nonequivalent trade exchange, the high interest rate and natural disasters; renounce the imposition of conditions when allocating credit and the protectionist policy being pursued by the industrially developed states.

As a whole, the Cartagena Group meeting objectively contributed to the formulation of the Latin American countries' common position. At the same time, although there was no shortage of declarations apropos Latin American unity in Montevideo, many of its participants, particularly those such as Argentina, Brazil and Mexico, hastened to explain that the said statements, as, equally, the documents of the meeting, by no means signify an intention to set up a "borrowers' club". J. Silva Herzog, minister of finance and public credit of Mexico, declared that he saw no possibility of negotiating in a united front and added: "Each country has its own particularities and its own problems, and thinking of the introduction of global negotiations is hardly possible." In other words, the understanding of the community of goals did not lead to an understanding of the community of forms and methods of struggle to achieve them, which was a major concession to the imperialist centers. Furthermore, the participants in the meeting refrained from examining the true purposes of the Baker Plan and condemnation of the open interference in sovereign states' economy and policy. Their speeches and also the Montevideo Declaration did not reflect such an important aspect of the foreign debt problem as the arms race, a considerable part of whose financial burden the United States is shifting onto the Latin American countries.

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